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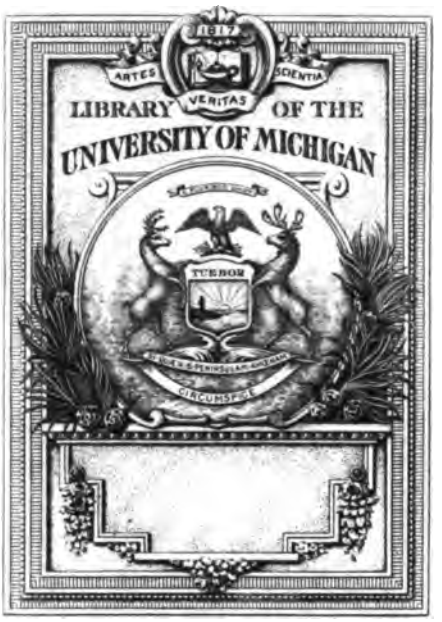

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THE WHALING EQUIPMENT OF THE MAKAH INDIANS

by
T. T. WATERMAN

SEATTLE, WASH.
PUBLISHED BY THE UNIVERSITY
1920

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INTRODUCTION

The present study was undertaken because of the presence for a time in the city of Seattle of a member of the Makah tribe, Mr. C. Peterson, of Neah Bay. Mr. Peterson is well informed concerning the life of his people, and has had for many years a certain intellectual interest in the details of primitive culture, especially with reference to his own group at Cape Flattery. The State Museum on the Campus of the University supplied the various objects described below; many of them being specimens collected by James G. Swan at Cape Flattery a number of years ago.

Several important printed works have appeared in the past, which deal with the material culture of the Makah or their close neighbors. These works are cited in detail in a terminal bibliography on page 50. The most recent of them is the famous series of volumes entitled "The North American Indian," by Edward C. Curtis. The eleventh volume of this great work, dealing specifically with the Nootka and the Haida, includes numerous notes on the tribe which is the subject of the present study. A much earlier work by another author, "The Indians of Cape Flattery," by James G. Swan, deals with a larger number of topics than does the book by Curtis, but in a more schematic way. Swan's system of transliterating Makah words is less accurate than Curtis' method. The most important paper on the primitive peoples of this region is a monograph by Franz Boas, "The Kwakiutl of Vancouver Island." This famous work contains descriptions of devices and processes, printed in the form of texts in the native Kwakiutl dialect. The present writer has not dealt in detail with any of those matters which are discussed by these earlier observers. Where Boas has described a process, for example that of separating spruce root into fibers, it seems unnecessary to go into that particular matter again. What he says of technological processes among the Kwakiutl is practically all applicable to the Makah. Boas' description is incomparable for the various manufactures and the detailed processes involved in them. Curtis' principal interest, on the other hand, is in ceremonies. His admirable account of the ceremonial practices performed in connection with whaling, as carried on by tribes adjacent to the Makah (such tribes as the Nootka, Quilliute, Quinault, and Kwakiutl), presents a very clear picture. What this author says of the ceremonial practices of neighboring tribes applies perfectly well to the Makah. Where the accounts of these previous writers overlap, their material is summarized and put in the form of an abstract.

The photographs illustrating the whaling industry are the work of Asahel Curtis, Esq., of Seattle, successor to the Romans Photo Company, and they are reproduced by arrangement with him. The line drawings were done by Sara Vinsonhaler of the Department of Design of the University of Washington.

Alphabet Used in Recording Indian Terms.—Many sounds occur in Makah which are not present in English. Swan[1] spells the Indian words as best he can with the ordinary English alphabet, with the result that the words as he gives them often do not sound like Makah. Curtis has a more complete set of symbols. His list does

[1] For authorities cited, see the terminal bibliography on p. 50

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not, however, represent all of the Makah sounds. To describe the phonetic elements of this dialect seems to be somewhat troublesome; unless they are expounded in physiological terms which are of no interest to the casual reader. The usual resource on the part of authors who have to describe sounds such as these is to avoid "accurate" physiological terms, which seem uselessly difficult; using instead certain "general" terms, which, in most cases fail to convey any accurate idea of the sound as it is spoken by the Indian. The following notes may serve to give some impression of how the Makah words sound to the present writer. I think practically all of their spoken sounds are here represented.

VOWELS

i, ɪ u, ʊ

e, ɛ ʌ o, ɔ

a a

i, as in *machine*
ɪ, as in *pin*
e, as in *fête*
ɛ, as in *met*
a, as in *hat*

u, as in *rule*
ʊ, as in *full*
o, as in *note*
ɔ, as *ou* in *ought*
a, as in *bar*

ʌ, as in *but*

DIPHTHONGS

ai, as in *aisle*
ɔi, as in *boil*

SEMIVOWELS

w, y, substantially as in English

CONSONANTS

	Stop			*Labial-ized stop*		*Contin-uant*	*Affrica-tive*		*Nasal*	*Lateral*		*Affricative lateral*	
	Surd	*Sonant*	*Fortis*	*Surd*	*Fortis*	*Surd*	*Surd*	*Fortis*	*Sonant*	*Surd*	*Sonant*	*Surd*	*Fortis*
Labial	p	b	p'						m				
Dental	t	d	t'			s	ts	ts'	n	L	l	tL	tL'
Alveolar						c	tc	tc'					
Palatal	k	g	g'	kw	kw'	x							
Velar	q	γ	q'	qw	qw'	ξ							
Glottal	'					h,'							

The consonants are sounded approximately as they are in English, except for the following:

Fortis Sounds—These are "exploded" or "cracked" consonants produced with the vocal organs in the position for the ordinary sound, but with hard pressure. The

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release is very sudden but the rush of breath is slight. The combination produces a sharp sound, markedly different from anything in English. The sound itself is very brief, but the firm *"closure"* which precedes it is often prolonged. As indicated in the chart, these fortis sounds are of various types (*p, k, t,* etc.), and are of frequent occurrence. The symbol which represents them (namely, '), is explained below.

Labialized Stops—The nature of these sounds is indicated fairly well by the symbols chosen to represent them.

Continuant Sounds—The symbol *c* stands for a simple sound which is represented in English usage by a combination of two symbols, namely *s* and *h,* as in the English word *"she."* The *x* indicates a sound made by friction of the breath between the back part of the tongue and the palate, as in German *ach.* This sound resembles ordinary English *h,* except that the friction is more pronounced, the passage between the tongue and the palate being greatly narrowed.

Affricative Sounds—These consist essentially of a continuant preceded by, and "fused" with, a "stop." The symbol *ts* in Makah has approximately the value it has in English, the two elements being pronounced as one sound. I think the sound is more properly represented by one symbol, but no convenient symbol exists. As is *not* the case in English, this *ts* sound in Makah is very frequent at the beginning of words. The *tc* represents the combination of *t* with the *c* sound described above.

Lateral Sounds—One sound which does not exist in English, but which is extremely frequent in Makah, is represented by *L*. This sound has the same relation to ordinary *l* that English *p* has to English *b*, namely the organs are in the same position, but the vocal cords are not employed. Curtis represents the sound by a combination of *h* with *l*. This combination may give a distant hint of its effect on the ear.

Affricative-lateral Sounds—These have the same relation to the laterals that the ordinary affricatives have to the stops; the lateral affricative, namely, is a lateral which enters into combination with, and is "fused" with, a "stop" which precedes it.

Velar Sounds—These sounds, often described as "gutterals," are produced very much in the fashion of ordinary *k*, as it is in *kick,* but the contact is much further back in the mouth. A little practice enables an English-speaking person to produce these sounds without any difficulty. The "stop" is represented by *q*, and the corresponding continuant by γ.

Glottal Sounds—The most noteworthy of these is a "glottal stop" (′). Between vowels, this symbol indicates an interruption of the breath by a closure of the larynx, which closure is achieved by drawing the vocal cords completely across the passage. This is a commonplace action, performed, for example, in the process of coughing. When used in connection with consonants, this symbol represents a "stress" or "explosiveness," in which a glottal closure is probably one factor. The effect of this explosion produces on the ear a "cracking" of the consonant, which is very noticeable and striking in the speech of the native Indians.

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NOTE.—The symbols used in the above tabulation are based on the report of the Committee of the American Anthropological Association on the phonetic transcription of Indian languages.[2] The sounds of Makah correspond, almost throughout, to the sounds of the Kwakiutl language as described by Boas in the opening pages of his monograph already mentioned. The sound which Boas describes as resembling *ky* and which he writes as *k*, I have written *ky;* and similarly with his *x*, etc. I heard both *s* and *c* in Makah, and also the affricatives, *ts* and *tc*, although in Kwakiutl only *s* and its affricative *ts* occur. What Boas says of the other sounds of Kwakiutl, seems to my ear to apply to the sounds of Makah. As with Kwawiutl, *t, d* and *s* are very far forward. In the language as spoken by Mr. Peterson, they were actually dental.

Other Symbols Employed—Prolongation of a vowel or consonant is indicated by (·), a period above the line. More pronounced prolongation is represented by a colon (:) following the symbol for the sound. A period between two vowels indicates that they do not form a diphthong. Long-continued and non-grammatical prolongation, as in rhetorical exclamations, is represented by +.

The symbol ^{u} indicates that the preceding consonant was pronounced with an *o* (or *u*) position of the mouth. Superior letters indicate in general whispered or weakly articulated sounds. The symbol (<) indicates the presumable derivation of a term; or marks the word with which a given expression is associated in the mind of the Indian. I am not sure of the etymological accuracy of all of these derivations. In many cases they are undoubtedly correct. In explaining the meaning of Indian terms, literal translations are preceded by (=).

Square brackets are used, as they are ordinarily, to mark the writer's editorial comments, where such comments are necessary.

[2] See "Report on the phonetic transcription of Indian languagts," in the bibliography on p. 50 below.

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THE "CHINOOK" CANOE

Probably the most important factor in the whaling industry of the Makah is the canoe. They procure their food supplies for the most part from the open sea. In the latitude of Cape Flattery the Pacific Ocean is very boisterous, and good boats coupled with good seamanship are essential for a seafaring life. The hunting grounds for whales lie along the shore, and the great animals, especially certain species, sometimes come quite close in, but on the other hand the hunt often takes the Indians entirely out of sight of land. The halibut banks, also, which are the mainstay of their existence, and more important from the point of view of their food economy than is the killing of whales, lie from five to thirty miles off shore. Under these circumstances, specialization in matters connected with the canoe takes on the very highest importance. Better canoemen than the Makah have probably never existed. I learn also that their boats deserve the very highest place for staunch seaworthiness, coupled with great manageableness and speed.

The Makah use only one type of craft, the so-called "Chinook" canoe.

This type of canoe is a dugout, hewn, except for a superimposed bow and stern piece, from one cedar log. The particular model which is popularly spoken of as the "Chinook" canoe, is illustrated in Figure 2, *b*. The use of this model is characteristic of the whole of Puget Sound, and of a region stretching some distance to the north and south along the coast. I am not familiar with the exact limits of the area, but the Columbia River is included in it (Curtis, Vol. 8, Folio, Plate 265 shows that boats of this type are used by the Wishram, living at the great cascades of this stream). The use of this canoe characterizes the whole coast of Washington, and a large part of the west coast of Vancouver Island. The Nootka and Clayoquot, near Nootka Sound, use imposing specimens made along this model. In fact, there is evidence that this type of boat originated with them.[3] They manufacture a large number of the boats which are in use at the present day, and supply them to the tribes on Puget Sound and southward, either directly, or through the Makah. As pointed out by Swan,[4] the Makah themselves do not make canoes to any great extent, because their territory does not furnish the best cedar. They, however, depend upon the canoe for all purposes, including the winning of their livelihood. The "Chinook" type of canoe used by them in common with other tribes has never been adequately described, so it may appropriately be taken up in detail here. It is as much used by the Makah, and as skillfully handled, as by any tribe, even though they do not as a usual thing manufacture their own boats.

THE NAME "CHINOOK"

This word, "Chinook," holds a high place in the affections of the Northwest. Primarily the name of one small sub-tribe, living at the mouth of the Columbia River, it has become associated through historical accident not only with a type of canoe, but also with a certain "jargon language," and with a warm southwest wind. The

[3] Lewis, 1906, p. 163.
[4] 1870, p. 36.

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wind does not concern us here; but the jargon language which passess commonly under the name "Chinook," is, like the canoe, the product primarily of the Nootka,[5] living on the west coast of Vancouver Island, many hundreds of miles to the north of Chinook territory. The term Chinook has long been in use, in connection with the "jargon," and the canoe, and I think this usage, in spite of its inaccuracy, deserves to be followed.

COMPARISON WITH CANOES OF OTHER PARTS OF THE PACIFIC COAST

There is a good deal of similarity in the dugout canoes used by the various tribes along the whole Pacific Coast, including the tribes of Southern Alaska, those of Northern California, and all the coast tribes in between. South of the Columbia River, however, Indian boats are not very large, nor are they at all seaworthy. They are built on what the northern Indians would call a "shovel-nose" model. The bottom, that is to say, is rounded in cross section, but somewhat flatter toward the bow and the stern, which are cut off square, as in the "punt" of civilized communities. These squared ends are crowned up in a sort of peak, to relieve their clumsy appearance, and among the California tribes a carven ornament rides upon the prow. Such boats are excellent for quiet water, and are quite speedy, but the Indian takes his life in his hands if he goes very far to sea in one of them. This is the type of craft which the great Vancouver mentions, in connection with his exploration at Port Orford, in Oregon, in the year 1792:

"Their canoes, calculated to carry about eight people, were rudely wrought out of a single tree; their shape much resembled that of a butcher's tray, and seemed very unfit for a sea voyage or any distant expedition."

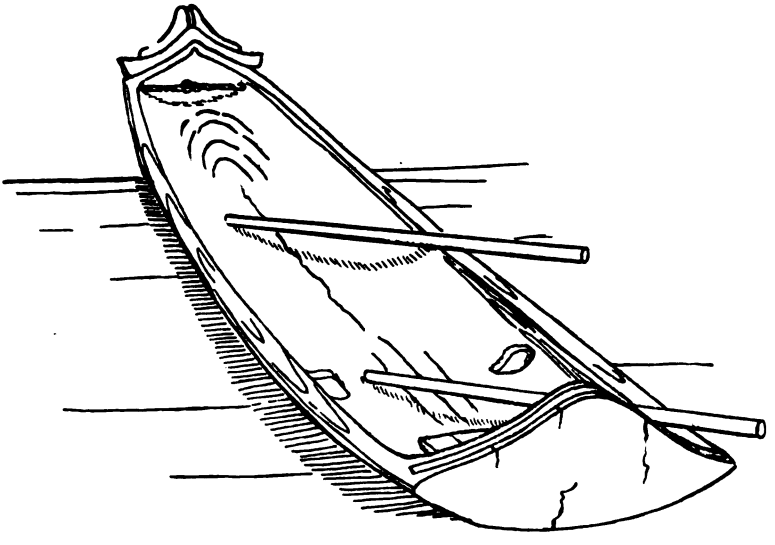

FIG. 1—Dugout canoe from Northern California (Yurok tribe), University of California, Museum of Anthropology, Catalog Number 1/1700. Length, 18 feet (5.99 meters).

[5] See Meany, 1907, p. 44.

[6] 1798, Vol. 1, p. 204.

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This type of boat is the one used at the present time by the Yurok along the Klamath River, in Northern California, and by their neighbors. Figure 1 shows a characteristic Yurok specimen. This is exactly what we would expect to find, if a knowledge of navigation, and a specialized industry in canoe-making, had become gradually diffused southward from a center somewhere north of the Columbia River.

The same general type of craft is known along the coast of Washington, and a close relative is found among the tribes of British Columbia, but it is used only in navigating estuaries, rivers, sloughs, creeks and other quiet waters. In other words, as we go southward, the size of canoes diminishes and we find fewer models in use, until in northern California but one type, and that a relatively poor one, has survived.

The "Chinook" canoe is in many ways an excellent model. It is very large, is pointed at both ends, and carries lofty carved prow and stern pieces. It is perfectly "fit" for use on the high seas. On the eastern coast of Vancouver Island, and northward among the Indians of the British Columbia coast and Alaska, a slightly different type of canoe is in use. This northern craft differs enough in externals of design from the one last mentioned to be easily distinguishable. If we call the second the "Chinook" model, we may speak of this third type perhaps as the "Northern" model. These "Northern" canoes, of which the Haida make probably the best specimens, are very large in size, exceeding the "Chinook" specimens (though the latter in extreme cases reach a length of fifty feet or more). The northern boat is also more elaborately ornamented. The main differences in shape are that the northern model has a vertical cutwater, and an oblique stern, while the Chinook model has a sloping cutwater, and is vertical at the stern. These differences are illustrated in Figure 2.

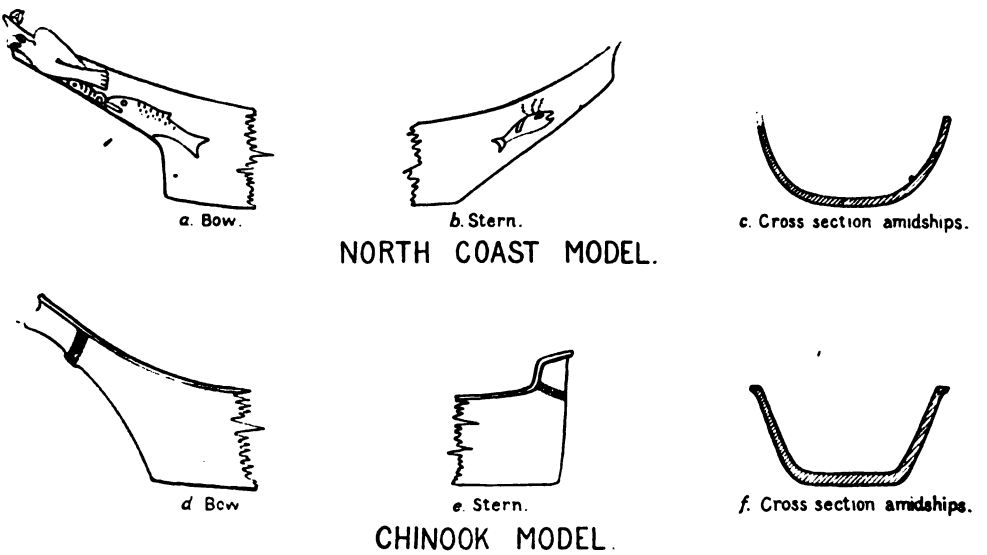

FIG. 2.—Two types of sea-going canoe found in the Pacific Northwest.

The "northern" model is drawn from a Haida specimen (University of Washington, State Museum, Accession No. 271); the "Chinook" model is from a miniature canoe made of alder, Makah tribe (Catalog Number 2658).

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The difference just mentioned has been pointed out by previous writers. Niblack in Plate 34 of his "Coast Indians of Southern Alaska," illustrates it with a plate. In his drawing, however, he has turned his Haida boat end for end, placing the stern where the bow ought to be. This misrepresentation may be the error of his draftsman. Niblack's own remarks, however (on page 295 of his work), seem to indicate that the two ends of the boat are confused with each other in his memory. The bow of the Haida boat, as may be noticed in Figure 2 on this page, does at first glance seem to be designed for a stern. The best canoes in this Northwestern region, whether of the northern or the Chinook model, show an outward "flare" in the side just below the gunwale. The Makah boats exhibit this feature, and Curtis mentions it as characterizing the canoes of Puget Sound (Curtis, Vol. 9, p. 60). Its purpose is to keep waves from curling into the boat in rough weather. It hardly seems that so slight a protection could have much effect, yet I am assured that the presence of the flare makes the boat behave quite differently in a sea. The Makah say that the "northern" or Haida boats lack this feature. Niblack, on the other hand (p. 295 of his work), says that the northern models have it, while the Makah or "Chinook" specimens lack it. The truth very likely is that the use of this flare depends upon the skill of the individual carpenter. The only Haida canoe which I have had a chance to examine (a University of Washington specimen), did not have this feature. I doubt, however, in view of Niblack's remarks, that the lack of it is characteristic of any particular tribe. The "northern" boats, says Niblack, "have projecting prows, high, spur-shaped sterns, flaring gunwales, and a gracefully rounding or curving cross-section, although without any distinct keel. The latter have the blunt, straight stern, a gracefully curving bow, but a flat bottom, with little curve in the cross-section." This type is "heavier, roomier, stronger, less cranky, and more durable than the Haida type, but the latter is swifter, handier, and more buoyant." The present writer's Makah informant says that the Haida canoe is not so "dry" as the Makah boat, nor is the Haida boat, they say, so easy to handle. The Makah canoe ships no water except in the wildest weather, and is even then easily kept free with a bailer (for this ingenius utensil see below page 27). The Haida canoe, possibly on account of its high stern, is said to be particularly good in a following sea.

"RATING" OF CANOES

As remarked above, most of the tribes of the Pacific Northwest have various styles of craft, for use under special circumstances. For example, they often have flat-bottomed and blunt-nosed canoes for use in still waters, and along creeks and rivers. The Makah spend their time in the turbulent waters around their cape, and use their sharp-nosed sea-going Chinook canoes practically to the exclusion of everything else. The only variant is a small wide boat, "with a stern at both ends," which is used by young people before they can be trusted to handle the big canoes. They use, however, various sizes of canoes. The general term for canoe is tc'Δ'p.Δts (Chap-ats, in the notation given by Swan). Niblack mentions four ratings as generally recognized among the Indians[7]: (1) Hunting and fishing canoes, (2) family

[7] 1888, p. 294.

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and transportation canoes. [illegible] the canoes of the [illegible] terms for these [illegible]

(1) The whaling canoe [illegible] for six persons. [illegible] a-tlis-tat p. [illegible] [illegible] ta-ka-aú-da p. [illegible]

NOTE.—Swan + pa-iau- [illegible] term probably refers to the [illegible] which the whaling canoe is taken. His term for the second type, [illegible] plained by my informant as [illegible] properly a descriptive expression for canoes carrying four persons, not six. His term a-tlís-tat, I cannot identify. His term for the very small canoe, [illegible] is apparently tek'eodi'yak [illegible] that one could not sit in the stern without capsizing.

Curtis mentions two sorts of canoes, the whaling canoe, "ni'tahsets," and the war canoe, "wi-tuk-ests."

According to my informant there are seven "ratings" as follows:

The "freight" canoe, ci'tLats. This craft is the largest made. Such canoes are employed when people are moving their effects from one locality to another. In some cases even the house timbers are loaded into the canoe, or towed along behind. Occasionally two or three canoes are lashed side by side, and the house planks laid across them to make a platform, spaces being left between the planks to accommodate the paddlers. The Makah do not often resort to this device. [illegible] the lashings have to be cast off, or the canoes soon fill.

The "war" canoe, wit'ksits [illegible] (Vol. 11, p. 179) as wi-tuk-ests. The craft is [illegible] dition, or errand, boat. [illegible] less width of beam, in proportion to its length, [illegible] ceremonial visits, in connection with meetings, [illegible] extended trips. Canoes of this kind [illegible] carry much cargo without great [illegible]

The whaling canoe [illegible] arms in length.

The [illegible] of the position [illegible] steersman in the [illegible]

The [illegible] man paddles [illegible] bow. The [illegible] canoe [illegible] whaling canoe [illegible] number [illegible]

[illegible] p. [illegible]

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below page 19. The seal are very alert and a boat which squatters over the swells causes them to take alarm. This canoe measures along the bottom 3½ "stretches" of the arms, from tip to tip of the fingers.

The "one man" canoe, tek'eodi'yak (=in the middle one sits). This is mentioned in the note above. It accomodates one person only.

The "children's canoe," hupi'dvwac (<hu'ped — salmon-trout). This craft is small and, as the Indians say, "has a stern at both ends." In other words, both stern and bow are finished off with a carven piece like the one represented in Figure 1. This boat is paddled about by children, for practice.

THE HULL OF THE CANOE

Features of the hull described by other writers

NOTE.—Fairly complete accounts of the splitting out and hollowing of the canoe are given both by Swan and Niblack. Swan's especially is an excellent description, in outline. Niblack's account concerns primarily the Coast Indians of Southern Alaska and British Columbia, but what he says applies in large part to the Makah also. This description is not as full as the preceding one.

Curtis' passages on this matter add little to the ones previously written. This author does not seem as a rule to be much interested in technological processes.

A very full description of the shaping of a canoe hull, a description which is admirable in every way, and extremely graphic, is the one by Boas (Vol. 5, Part 2, 1909, pp. 344-369). This is a remarkable account, in Kwakiutl and English, of all the operations of canoe-making, including the ceremonial observances connected with it.

The Felling of the Timber of the Canoe—A cedar tree for canoe-making is selected with elaborate care, holes being bored to test its soundness (Boas, p. 344). It is felled near a water-way (Niblack, p. 297). The carpenter "makes it fall" on a favorable spot by throwing chips there; and he calls a warning to the tree, when he hears the wood cracking, to go down gently (Boas, p. 344).

Shaping of the Hull—The log is cut to the length required for the canoe by the use of mauls and wedges. The sap wood is split off, and the top side of the log is removed slab by slab to the level of the gunwales. Then the section of log is turned over and the bottom of the canoe hewn out. Then it is reversed again and the interior removed in slabs. When roughly shaped it is towed home and turned bottom side up, to receive the final finish (Boas, 19, pp. 344-346; Swan, 1870, pp. 35, 36; Niblack, 1888, p. 297).

The different sections are adzed out in regularly prescribed order (Boas, 1909, pp. 359-369; Figure 63, on p. 349 of his work). The thickness of the sides of the canoe is one finger's width near the top, one and one-half finger's width midway of the side, and two fingers' width at the bottom (Boas, p. 363).

Designing—The proper length for canoes for different purposes is established by tribal custom (Boas, p. 350), and is measured by fathoms (a fathom being the "reach" of the maker, the widest stretch of his arms). The curves of the canoe are made entirely by the eye (Swan, p. 36). The thickness of the sides is gauged by placing one hand on the inside, the other on the outside and passing them over the work (Swan, p. 36), or by drilling, here and there, numerous small holes, which are later plugged with cedar pegs (Boas, p. 360).

Tools—The instruments consist of hand-adzes, long-handled adzes (both with blades of stone), wedges of yew-wood bound with cedar withes to prevent splitting,

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mauls of stone (Niblack, p. 297), bone drills, polishing materials, and chisels of mussel-shell (Swan, p. 36).

A complete account of each of these tools is given by Boas, pp. 319-327.

Widening the Canoe—When the log is small, the sides of the canoe are widened out with the aid of heat (Swan, p. 36). Fresh water is poured into the canoe to the depth of four fingers. Into this, red-hot stones are dropped, by means of tongs. When the water is hot, it is sprinkled all over the inner surface of the sides with a bailer (Boas, pp. 364-366). The outside of the hull is warmed by nearby fires of bark (Swan, p. 36; Curtis, Vol. 9, p. 60) or by scorching with celar splints (Boas. p. 366). When the wood is "heated through," special struts of plank are placed crosswise in the hull, and pounded home with a maul. This spreads the sides of the canoe, in some cases as much as ten inches or a foot. Permanent thwarts are then lashed into place (Boas, p. 366-367; see below, page 21).

Bow and Stern Pieces—The characteristic feature in the canoes of the Northwest are bold and striking bows and sterns. These consist of separate pieces, hewn out of logs and joined to the hull by dowells and lashings (Curtis, Vol. 9, p. 60; Swan, p. 36). The joining of these additional parts to the hull is so close and well done that they are water tight without caulking. This careful fitting is accomplished by rubbing the hull where the extra piece is to be fitted on with grease and charcoal. The bow-piece is then seated exactly in place. When removed, those parts, which have been blackened by contact with the opposite surface, are adzed down, and the process is repeated until the bow-piece fits smoothly along its whole length (Swan, p. 37).

Thwarts—These consist among the Makah of round poles (Swan, p. 36). Among the Kwawiutl they are narrow planks, three fingers wide with a thickness of one finger (Boas, p. 366). Among the Makah they are fastened in place with cedar withes, which pass through perforations in the side of the boat (Swan, p. 36; Curtis, Vol. 9, p. 60). For the details, see p. 21 below.

Taboos—Boas mentions the following rules observed by the canoe-builder: He avoids contact with the opposite sex (p. 344); otherwise he finds rotten places in the wood from which he is shaping the hull. He does not comb his hair (p. 345); otherwise the ends of his canoe become split. Also, he does not permit anybody to look when he is heating the hull and spreading the sides (p. 347); for that may cause the canoe to split open. Similar rules are scrupulously observed by the Makah.

Paint—The inside of the canoe is colored with a "paint" composed of fish-oil, or seal-oil, and ochre, or "Indian red" (Swan, p. 37). This red ochre is obtained from a deposit in the territory of the Quilliute tribe, along the Quilliute River (Swan, p. 17). Sometimes charcoal is mixed with oil and rubbed on the outside of the hull. More commonly the hull is charred or scorched with lighted cedar splits, as described below (page 22; Swan, p. 37). Blue clay instead of ochre seems to have been used in the Puget Sound region (Curtis, Vol. 9, p. 61).

Carving—On the flat surface at the tip of the bow-piece, transverse grooves are gouged, to make an ornamental pattern of parallel lines. (See Figure 4 below, p. 17). Sometimes a pair of large round holes are cut through the bow-piece just below the tip (Niblack, Plate 34, upper figure, represents this feature). A square-looking ornament, carved in relief, may be seen on the bow of most canoes some distance down on the neck (inaccurately indicated by Plate 34 of Niblick and Figure 18 of Swan; various plates of Curtis' work also show this ornament). The prow terminates in a carving which, according to Boas (p. 444), resembles a bird's nest, but according to Curtis "has an accidental resemblance to a dog's head" (Vol. 9, p. 60). The form of carving is fixed by custom, but has no symbolic meaning.

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Similar incised lines are found in the "throat" of the prow, and on the stern-piece; the parallel incised lines of carving are carried from bow to stern along the inside of the canoe, below the gunwale. [Something similar to this is mentioned by Curtis, Vol. 9, p. 60.]

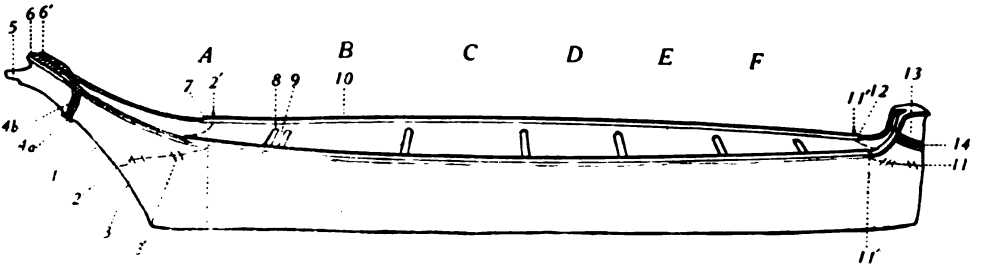

FIG. 3—Diagram showing the nomenclature of the canoe.

Parts of the hull

1. Carved bow-piece, kwΔqu'b (=sits at the bow).
2, 22. Joint, or "scarf," where the prow is joined to the hull (tabi'vq").
3, 3. Perforations, connected by transverse grooves, which accommodate the necessary lashings.
4*a*. Projecting ornament, q'ada'do (=uvula).
4*b*. Incised ornamentation consisting of parallel lines, tsu'tsu (=scratches).
5. Forward projection of the prow, lɛ'kw'ɩLtΔb (=tongue stiking out).
6, 6. Tip ends of the gunwales, ɩhi'qaΔL (=ears).
12. After-end of the gunwale strip.
8. A thwart, tap'ab (=brace).
9. Space between the forward pair of thwarts, tL'asu'b—Δts (=mast-holder).
10. Gunwale-strip, tL'e'ɩxats (=paddle-piece).
11, 11', 11". Joint, or scarf, where the stern-piece is fastened to the hull.
12. After-end of the gun-wale strip.
13. Carven stern-piece, kwa'a'ktLɩb (=sitting at the stern).
14. Incised ornamentation resembling 4*b*.

Names for the "spaces" between the thwarts

A. hitΔ'kwΔd (Swan, pp. 21, 95, he-tuk-wad, hey-tuks-wad).
B. kaqai'yuwaxs (Swan, *loc.cit* ka-kai-woks, *kah-kai-woks*).
C. tc'ɛL-'kduwΔxs (Swan, *loc.cit.* cha-t'hluk-dos, chah,-thlik-do-as).
D. .....
E. hitΔ'ksɩstΔxs (=inside place).
F. tL'i'tca (=stern).

ADDITIONAL NOTES ON THE HULL

Bow and Stern Pieces

When the canoe is small, the whole hull is carved from one piece. In the craft of greater size, large additional pieces, called in general si'kwΔb="sitting pieces" (<kwa·sa=to sit), are fastened on to the hull. These added sections are designed with great elegance, and, as described by Swan (p. 36), are fitted to the canoe with exquisite care. The bow-piece, kwΔqu'b, is rough-hewn from a cedar log, to the

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proper dimensions. On the hull a "scarf," tabi'dvq^{w} (="joint") is prepared, into which the bow-piece exactly fits. In some cases shoulders in this scarf prevent the bow-piece from slipping when it is once in place. In other cases a large curving socket is cut in the bow of the boat, and the bow-piece carved so as to fit in. Plate 1,*b*, shows a carpenter fitting such a bow-piece on his boat. Holes are drilled into the edges of both elements, carefully matched as to position. Cedar pegs or "dowells," tLΔ'p'ιqΔb (<tL'tla'pa = to hammer) are then used to fasten the two together. The work is so well done that the hull and the additions to it seem to be all in one piece. The "auger" for boring holes consists of a bone blade set in a handle and twirled between the palms. This drill is described and figured by Boas (p. 323 of his work).

These bow and stern pieces are very carefully designed with a view to artistic effect. They add very markedly to the gracefulness of the boat. Moreover, they carry out and round off the lines of the hull, and lend a very "finished" effect. The flat gunwales of the canoe are carried or "lifted" to meet the top of the bow piece, producing a fine sweeping curve, and are cut off square at their extremity. What seems to be a notch between them, Figure 5, *b*, and as seen in Plate 1, *b*, is really a trench or groove. This trench is in origin a continuation of the floor of the canoe, which becomes V-shaped at the bow and rises up to meet the gunwales. The corners

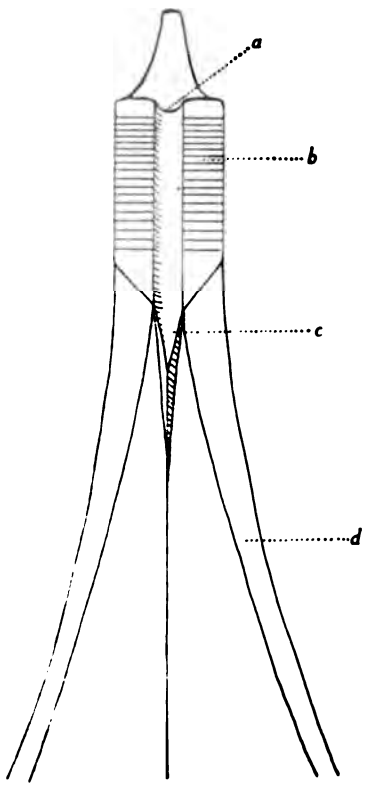

FIG. 4—Diagram showing the prow of the Chinook canoe, viewed from above.

a, notch where the point of the harpoon rests; *b*, the scratch ornamentation; *c*, the tongue, or wedge-shaped projection; *d*, the gunwale.

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of the projecting prow are called the ɩhi'qabΔL, (=the edge or margin of a person's ear). The harpoon point rests in this notch when the Indians are after whale or porpoise. Perhaps the most striking element in the prow is a carven "snout," which projects out in front of the "ears." It is called lɛ'kw'íLtΔb, "tongue sticking out" (<lɛka:'ɩk = "tongue"); and gives the prow exactly the appearance of an animal's head. The Indians say that this carving represents nothing at all, and is merely "for looks." The life-like "effect" of the ornamentation is increased by the "cock" of the prow, the whole canoe having an air of alertness, as though it were alive and moving of its own accord. The Indian's consciousness of the canoe as an artistic whole, and his anxiety for effect, is shown by the carving of the projecting ornamentation which is visible on the neck of the canoe, some distance below the snout. It is called q'ada'ds, "uvula" (the organ which projects downward from the soft palate, in the back of the mouth cavity). The Indians say that the boat "looks bad," unless there is something at this point to break the line of the prow. The loving care they expend on the making of the canoe is also shown by a decoration consisting of lightly incised lines. Across the flat surface leading back from the "ears" is an ornamentation consisting of parallel grooves, called tsu'tstsu (<tsuts = scratch: tsu = to finish off). This "scratch ornamentation" is shown in Figure 4.

Where the longitudinal groove begins to widen out to make the body of the boat, a wedge-shaped tongue (Figure 4, *c*) is invariably carved. This again is merely "to give finish." From this tongue, horizontal grooves called tsu'tsi.i'dΔb (tsuts = to scratch; i'dΔb = gunwale), extend along the inside of the boat just below the gunwale, clear to the stern. They are purely for ornament, but like the other features, are found in this same unvarying form in all good canoes. This ornamentation is made with a special tool resembling a reamer.

The stern-piece, kwa'a'ktLɩb (= sits on the stern), is not so large as the bow-piece, nor (as might perhaps be expected) is it so elaborately ornamented. But it is most appropriately designed to "fit" its place, and merges admirably into the general design of the canoe. I do not see how anything could better illustrate the Indian's eye for effect than the care taken in designing this modest and inconspicuous stern-post. Like the bow-piece, it is painstakingly carpentered, and dowelled and lashed into place.

When the boat needs mending, sections of plank or patches are set into the side. Such an inset or patch is called qwΔb, or tL'as''i (<tLa'sak=an addition). Old boats are likely to be much patched, as the result of the weathering and cracking of the wood, and hard usage.

I have tried to indicate my sense of the artistic skill shown in the designing of these "sitting pieces." It must be borne in mind that their purpose is, nevertheless, primarily not aesthetic. The upreared bow-piece is put there to throw aside the seas into which the canoe is driven. If it were not there, every sea which the boat encountered would come right aboard. The stern-piece has a similar function and increases the seaworthiness of the boat tremendously. The bow-piece is much the larger of the two for obvious reasons, since the boat rides a following sea much more easily than the seas which are met solidly, head-on. In beaching a canoe, the Makah

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always ride in stern-foremost. I think this is on account of the fine protection against heavy seas that is afforded by the bow. Both bow and stern-pieces are so slender that they hardly seem adequate to keep off the seas (see Figure 5, *b*). They have probably been reduced, as the result of long usage, to the slenderest design which will fulfill the purpose. Yet even in their present form they are highly useful. I dare say that their reduction to their present slender proportions has been equally for the artistic effect of delicacy, and for the practical consideration of reducing the total weight of the boat. The Indians have reached in this feature of the canoe what seems to my mind the highest artistic success, the making of what is a commonplace and practical contrivance, also artistically beautiful.

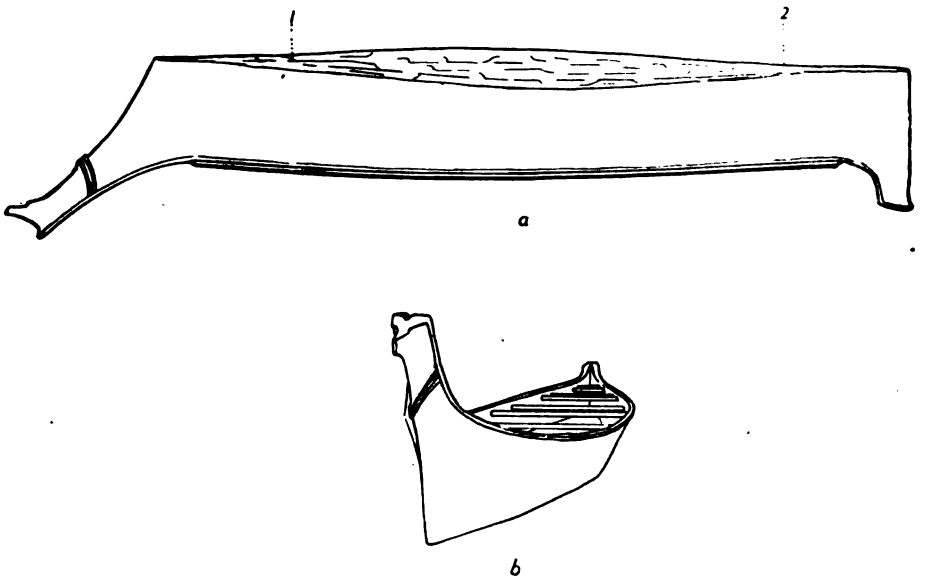

FIG. 5—The shape of the "Chinook" canoe.

a, the hull below the water line; *b*, the appearance of the canoe from in front. At points Nos. 1 and 2 in the upper figure the bottom narrows into a sort of knife-blade.

THE SHAPE OF THE HULL

The under side of the boat (Fig. 5, *a*) has some interesting features, from the standpoint of design. From the point marked 1 and 2 in the diagram (Fig. 5, *a*) the bottom of the boat narrows and at the same time protrudes slightly, producing a sort of keel at bow and stern. The narrow part rides somewhat lower in the water than the rest of the bottom. A "blade" of this sort at bow or stern is called sıp·u'ʼs (<si'ap = anything elongated and crested). It has a very practical purpose. In hunting sea-mammals, especially the seal and the otter, great silence is necessary. A ship's boat, even one of the better designed ones, when it surmounts a wave and dips forward is likely to slap the surface of the water. This noise often alarms the quarry. Seals are frequently found napping in the water, turned on their backs or their sides, with the hind flippers turned forward and up, breathing

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peacefully as their heads emerge from the waves. The Indian canoe can approach much more silently than the white man's boat, for this knife-blade at bow or stern cuts the water, instead of pounding down into it. The seal canoe has conspicuous "knife-blades" at both bow and stern, to prevent any splashing which might result from the pitching of the boat in the seas.

The Chinook canoe has a rather flat bottom, as pointed out by a previous writer (*b*, Fig. 2, p. 11 above). The terms for the various parts of the inside of the hull are shown in the following diagram (Fig. 6):

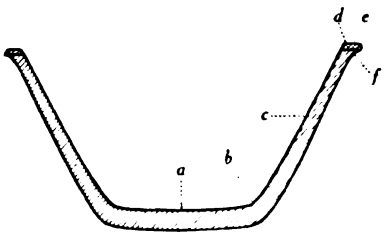

FIG. 6—Diagram showing the cross-section of a canoe.

a.	hitΔ'ktΔk,	bottom.
b.	tL^{s}Δtc,	curve at the side (<tL'ΔtcΔk = to fold).
c.	hitΔ'tsk,	side.
d.	hitΔkwi'i,	along the top of the gunwale.
e.	tL'e'ιxats,	gunwale-strip (<tLi'°xΔk = to paddle).
f.	di'tLki''i,	out-turn of the side, just at the gunwale.

INTERIOR FITTINGS

The canoe has no ribs or knees, "holding up" merely by the strength of the solid hull. Along the top of the gunwale lies a gunwale-strip, tL'e'ιxats (meaning "against it one works the paddle"). This is a thin strip of plank some three inches wide, extending from stem to stern of the boat. This plank is fastened down with cedar pegs. Its purpose is to prevent the sides from being worn down by the rubbing of the paddles as the boat is propelled. When this strip becomes worn, it is easily replaced by a new one. The thwarts are called ta'p·ab, "bracers" or "spreaders" (<ta = to brace). This term arises from the custom of spreading a canoe artificially by means of heat as described above in the quotations from Swan and Boas. Special struts, ta'ktup (<takte=to push with a pole) were used for the actual work of prying the canoe open. The thwarts get the name "spreaders" because they were fitted in as though to keep the sides from closing together again. The word "spreaders" is in general use for thwarts, although this "spreading" was done only in special cases. The fitting of the thwarts is done as follows: Round pieces of the proper length are cut, and each end is worked down into a sort of dowell, suptsu'watιts. One hole is drilled horizontally through the thwart, and two pairs of smaller holes through the side of the canoe (Fig. 7), one pair above the other. A withe made of cedar limb is soaked to make it soft. It is first rove through the thwart, is then passed outward through the side of the boat, and back

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through another perforation, then through the thwart again, and so on, by the method shown in Fig. 7, until the thwart is firmly bound in place. The remainder of the withe is served around the dowell. Both ends being caught beneath the lashing, the whole is very solid and presents moreover a very workmanlike appearance. The lashings neatly fill in over the more slender part of the thwart, and give the whole a very smooth and finished effect.

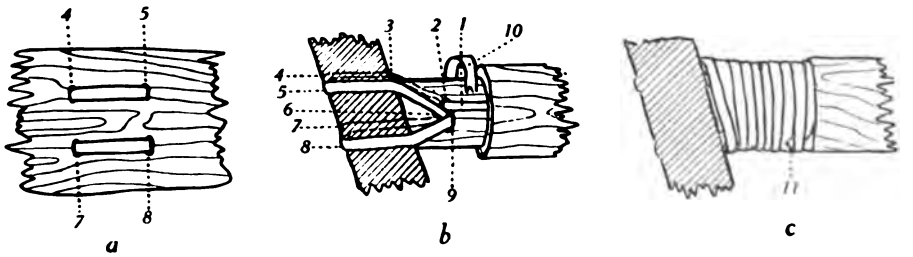

FIG. 7—Diagram showing the lashing which holds the thwarts in place.

a, A section from the outside of the boat, showing the appearance of the two turns of lashing seen from the outside. *b*, Diagram showing how the lashings are applied. The strip is laid along the thwart, beginning at 1, goes through the thwart at 2, enters a hole through the side of the boat at 3, emerges on the outside of the hull at 4, starts inward through a hole at 5, enters the hole through the thwart at 6, passes through the hull again at 7, returning at 8, passes through the thwart at 9, emerges on the far side, and begins to wrap around it as at 10. *c*, diagram of a cross-section of the side of the boat, showing the thwart and the finished wrapping, with the end caught under a turn at 11.

The manufacture of these cedar withes or lashings is described by Boas (p. 375) and will be referred to later in the present paper under the heading of ropes and lines.

On the floor of the boat are other fittings. Forward in the boat, just below the pair of thwarts at the bow, is a socket in which the mast is stepped when sail is hoisted. This socket, hʌksʌ'b, is a carven block of alder wood, 4 inches wide by 8 inches long, thin toward the edges and thick in the center. In its upper surface a pit is carved which accommodates the foot of the mast. The block is fastened lengthwise in the bottom of the boat with cedar pegs. The canoe curve is supplied with bottom-boards of cedar (Lʌt-tsi'b = "covering," a word applied to mats or anything used to cover an object). They are carefully smoothed and rounded to fit the shape of the boat, and furthermore are "crowned up" toward their middle part, so that whatever water comes aboard drains off of them. Between the end of one plank and the end of the next one, a space is left to permit of bailing the boat. The bailer is an ingeniously shaped object, to be described on a later page.

It will be seen by looking at the figure that the thwarts or "seats" are round poles. Blankets and mats are used to pad these poles to form seats. The Indian kneels to paddle, however. The canoes made on the northern coast are provided with flat benches. I am not informed why the Makah and their immedate neighbors elect to employ poles instead of benches. Makah canoes at the present time are often

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fitted with ribs, and the seats made of plank, and the small canoes often have tholepins or metal oarlocks.

Care of the Hull

The outside of the hull is carefully charred over with lighted cedar splints. This is done when the canoe is first made in order to preserve the wood from decay. The process is repeated from time to time, and the canoe rubbed with a wisp of grass, or cedar twigs, to clear the bottom of the fouling of barnacles and seaweed which accumulate there (Swan, p. 37).

These matters are described by Boas in the following terms:

"When the canoe is made ready for the hunting season, its outer side is dried carefully, so that all the small splints turn outward. These are burned off with torches, which are afterwards moved once more slowly over the whole surface of the canoe until a layer of charcoal shows on the outside. Then the canoe is turned over and allowed to cool. When it is cold, it is rubbed down [with an old mat, according to another passage] at right angles to the grain of the wood. When it is quite smooth, the outside up to the water-line is smeared with tallow. Olachen-oil is not used for this purpose, on account of its odor. After this the bottom of the canoe is struck with spruce-branches to give it a good smell.

The canoe must never rest on the ground; otherwise its bottom becomes roughened. It is always carried, never pushed along over stones. It must rest so high that a person can sit under the bow, and lift it on his shoulder. The hunter carries in his canoe two round cedar-sticks, about 10 cm. in diameter and a meter long. When a landing is made during ebb-tide, the stern is brought ashore first. The poles are then placed under the canoe to protect the bottom from the pebbles of the beach." (Boas, p. 500.)

Ornamentation

Mention has just been made of the fact that the prow is carved in such a form as to suggest the head of an animal (see above, p. 15). Curtis remarks that this resemblance is accidental; and my own inquiry pointed to the same conclusion. That is, my informant stated that while this carving is considered necessary by tribal custom, it does not "mean anything." This is remarkable, because the form given the prow is far too lifelike to be the result of anything but design. Moreover, the neighboring tribes to the east and north of the Makah have a highly developed totemic art. Carvings representing animals play a great part in their lives. Figures representing animals are invariably present on their canoes, lending the craft a very picturesque appearance. It seems altogether likely, then, that this carving on the Makah canoe was, in origin, totemic. If so, its significance is not recognized at the present day. The Makah canoe, compared to that of the Kwakiutl, or the Haida, is very plain, and almost devoid of external ornamentation. Whatever artistic interest it has, results principally from beauty of design, and careful workmanship.

In addition to the black coloring material consisting of "fish-oil" and charcoal, mentioned by Swan, an evil-smelling black muck, obtained in swamps, is sometimes used. It is called kak'i'tsbıs (cf. sΔkw'a'kubıs = dirt, earth). The fish-oil (olachen-oil? dogfish oil?) mentioned by Swan is in some cases replaced by decayed salmon

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roe (a'tc'pab). The "Indian red" (red ochre) is called Lıxtcɛ't°bıs. The combination dries very quickly. The charcoal used in painting is called tıbı'sbıs. The best kind is obtained by burning alder. White clay, tL'si'bΔs, is occasionally used in making designs, sometimes on canoes.

SAILS AND RIGGING

Features of the rigging described by other writers

Sails—The primitive sail is of the "square" type (Swan, p. 38) and is made of cedar-bark matting (Swan, p. 38; Boas, p. 446). It is attached top and bottom to yards consisting of light cedar poles (Swan, p. 38). These mats are woven on a woof of cedar-bark twine. At the top and bottom of the mat these war-strings are made into an openwork border, which permit the sail to be easily attached to the yard (Boas, p. 391).

Among the Kwakiutl sails were made also of thin boards, sewed together (Boas, p. 446).

Rigging—This consists of a mast, two yards, a "hallyard" to pull up the sail, the "sheets" and "braces" (Boas, p. 446; Swan, figure 20) which are attached to each corner of the sail.

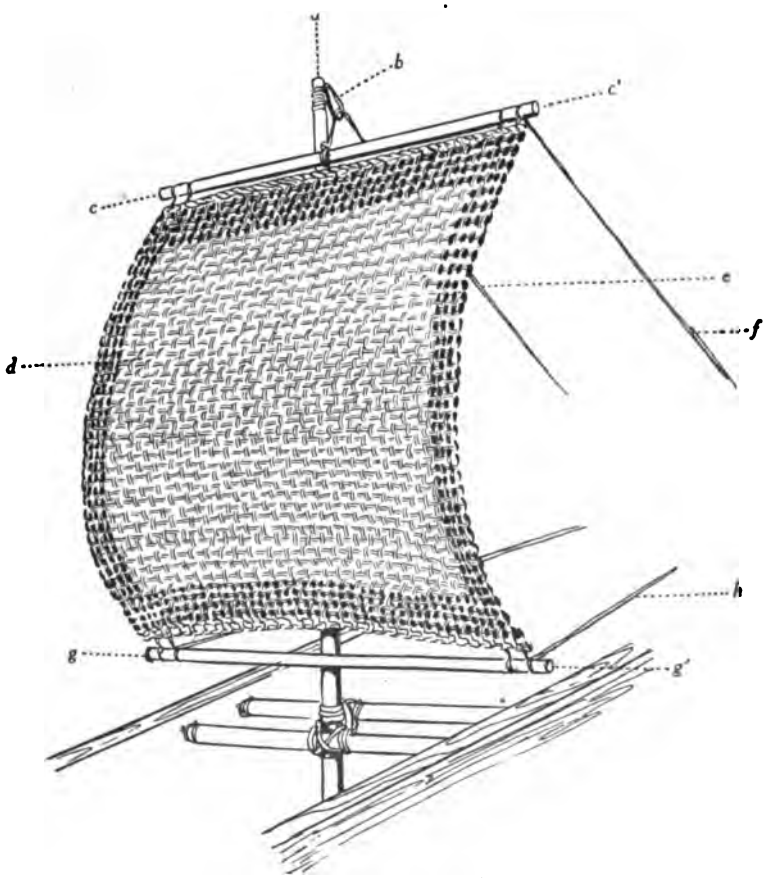

FIG. 8—Sail and rigging of a Makah canoe.

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a. mast, tLaxsʊb.
b, noose at masthead.
c,c', upper yard, tLuc'axtub (<tLucak=a rod: hideaxtɩL=over the top).
d, sail of matting, Ltsa'p'iyak (<Li'tsΔk = to spread: hidap = up).
e, halyard, tci'apɩLtLek (<tci'apɩL = to pull up).
f, "brace," tci-tcabub (<tci = to pull: ihi't'abuL = the top corner of the human ear).
g,g', lower yard, tLusa'baktLɩb (<tLusak' = rod: hitΔksabaktL = the bottom edge of a mat, or other fabric).
h, "sheet," tci-ksaba'ktLɩyek (= pulling on the bottom of a mat).

ADDITIONAL NOTES ON RIGGING

The sail is an oblong mat (Curtis; chíbat) of a type already described and figured by Boas (1909, p. 383, figures 74, 75; 1916, p. 52, figure 9). A specimen in the University of Washington Museum consists of a mat, three feet and one inch wide by five feet seven inches long, with a pole or "yard" at its top and bottom. Boas remarks that only coarse mats and large baskets are made in this checkerboard weave, a twilled tecnique apparently being employed for the finer pieces.

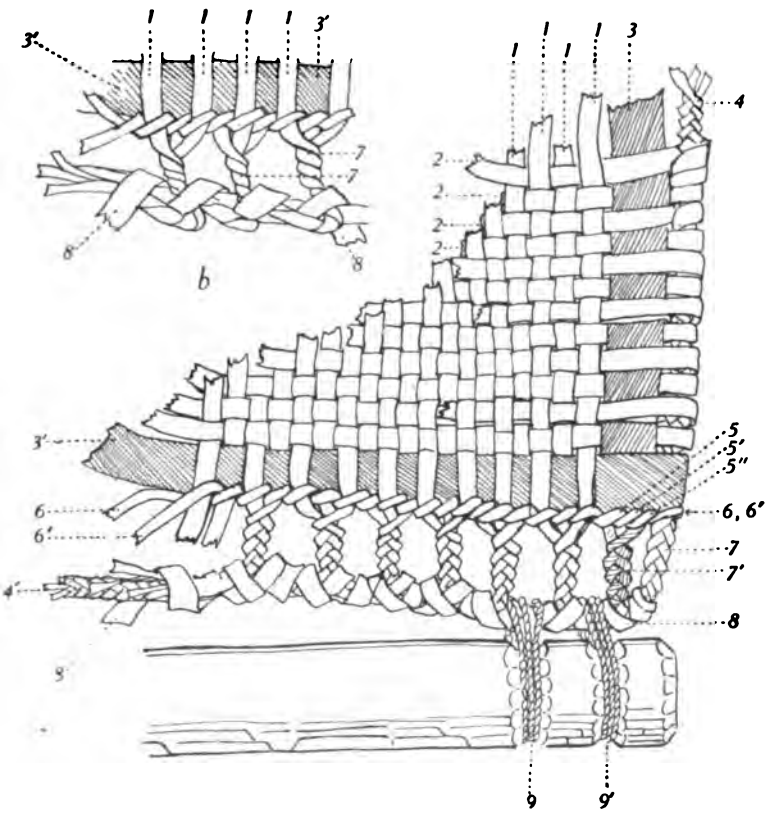

FIG. 9—Diagram illustrating the weave employed in a sail of cedar-bark matting: *a,* The border where the sail is attached to the yard; *b,* Section from the middle part of the lower border. University of Washington, State Museum, Catalog Number 209 (Makah tribe). Diameter of yard: 1⅛ inches (2.7 cm.); width of elements, ½ cm.

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1, 1, 1, 1. Warp elements.
2, 2, 2, 2, Woof elements.
3, 3′, Broad ribbon-like strips of cedar-bark, 1 cm. wide, dyed black, and worked in along the edges of the mat as an ornamental border.
4, 4′, String or cord of braided cedar-bark, which serves as the foundation of the "edging" which finishes off the sides of the sail. The woof strands numbered 2, 2, 2 pass over the black "ribbon," then around the cord, and the end is fastened down by the next following strand of woof.

The wide ribbon 3′ is separated into three divisions at its terminations, and these divisions are caught separately into this cord, and held fast (5, 5′, 5″).

6, 6′, A single row of plain twining, which binds the warp elements in place at the lower fringe of the mat. Each strip is caught separately in a "turn" of this plain twining.

The vertical ribbon, 3, is also divided into three narrow strips, and each of these strips is caught separately into the row of plain twining, as indicated at 5, 5′, and 5″.

7. 7′ 7″, A three-strand braid, produced by plaiting together three adjacent warp strips, as they emerge below the row of twining. From 20 to 30 rows at each side are finished in this way. Toward the center of the mat, the strips are merely twisted together, some of the elements being split and parted to one side and the other. This braiding and twisting produces the openwork effect.

A strip of cedar-bark, wound spirally around the braid, 4. Apparently in making this border, the maker worked from the right toward the left. Each string is caught under this spiral ribbon; and is then turned over it to the left, where the end is caught under the succeeding coil of the spiral.

9, 9′. Light three-strand string, with which the "clews" or corners of the sail are caught to the yard.

The openwork border resembles in weave the basket border shown in Boas, 1909, figure 84, page 392. The University of Washington specimen seems to be specially designed for a sail, being finished off in one way at the upper and lower borders, and in another tecnique at the sides. Its construction is shown in figure 9. The mat figured by Boas as a typical specimen has three black elements worked into the fabric, parallel to the border, producing a sort of band of checkerboard ornamentation around the edge of the mat. The present specimen has four similar rows of this black and white ornamentation, beside a wide ribbon of black, which is inserted just inside the border.

The sailing equipment of the Makah canoe is very primitive. The mast is a simple pole, which is inserted in the socket already described, and lashed upright between the two forward thwarts. There are no stays to hold it in place, the mast holding up through the rigidity of the wood. It is hardly more than a stick, since the sail is very small, and the strain is not at all heavy. A noose made of a cedar withe is lashed to the top of the pole. Through this is rove a line of twisted sea-lion gut. This line is called bΔqw'Δtsi'dıbɛ·k (<bΔqw'ı'ts = string) or simply tsi'kyub, "gut". It served as a halyard for hoisting the sail. Sometimes this noose is replaced by

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a hole made in the mast itself. At top and bottom the warp threads project beyond the fabric in the form of loops. Through these loops a round stick or rod might be inserted to serve as a "yard." In the specimen examined by myself (Fig. 9) the sail is attached to the pard by extra lashing. The sail is of a square type, and the only additional rigging required beyond the halyard for pulling up the sail are "sheets" attached at the lower corners, and "braces" attached at the upper corners of the sali, to manage it in the breeze.

Captain Cook writing in 1778 says that sails are not aboriginal in this region. The Indians of today look upon their sails and rigging as their own invention.

DEFECTS OF THE CANOE

The canoe is not designed for a sailing craft, and so its design from that standpoint is very defective. Progress by tacking is impossible, as the boat would make more leeway than headway. When a breeze comes over the stern they hoist sail. When there is no favorable breeze, they stow the mast and sail, and paddle. They have no words for "tacking" or "wearing" or other nautical maneuvers. The worst weakness of the canoe is a structural one — namely, a tendency to split (see Boas, p. 446). A canoe may split open into two halves if roughly handled, especially if it is driven vigorously into a cross sea. When hauled up on the beach, it is carefully covered from the effects of the sun, which starts "checking" and splitting, and may in a few hours ruin a good boat. This covering may consist of mats, blankets, boards or branches (Boas, p. 446; Curtis, Vol. 10, p. 16). These are the points in which the Indian canoe is inferior to the white man's boats. For buoyancy and easy riding of the waves in stormy weather, it compares favorably with any craft in the world. In cleverness of design and adaptation to its special purpose, and for artistic grace, it may almost be called a triumph of workmanship.

PADDLES

Information contained in previous accounts

Material—The paddle is made of yew or maple (Curtis, Vol. 9, p. 61; Swan, p. 38; Boas, 1909, p. 496). The cross-piece at the top is made of "red pine" (Boas, p. 497). [Alder, according to my information concerning the Makah practice; cf. Curtis, Vol. 11, p. 179].

Design—The blade is thin and somewhat elastic, and often sharply pointed or "lanceolate." The sharper types are said to make less noise when entering the water (Boas, 1909, p. 496). The top of the paddle ends in a dowell, which fits into a short cross-piece, four finger-widths long. The hole which receives this dowell is made rectangular, and the cross-piece is carefully fitted on the shaft (Boas, 1909, p. 498). This cross-piece is sometimes made of alder (Curtis, Vol. 11, p. 179).

Staining—The paddle is carefully smoothed and polished, and blackened by charring (Swan, p. 38). According to Boas, the Kwakiutl greased the implement

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with perch-oil, and blackened it by burning with piece of pitch wood (Boas, 1909, p. 498). This black color never comes off.

Additional notes on the paddle

The paddle, kla-táh-juk in Swan's orthography (1870, p. 95), hlatáwachuk in Curtis (Vol. 11, p. 179) is a very well-designed implement. The proper length for a paddle is the distance from the owner's chin to the ground. The paddles used in hunting had more slender and delicate blades than those used in paddling the freight canoe.

My informant describes a somewhat different method of blackening the paddle from that referred to on the preceding page. There are certain growths on hemlock bark which supply a rich coloring matter. These growths are spoken of as "blisters" and are due to the growth of a fungus. These blisters, tc'i'tʊbʊ, are cut out and dried. In making a paint or "stain" they are pounded up and mixed with urine and boiled over the fire. The mixture is used exactly as we use a commercial stain for woodwork. The paddle is painted a solid color. When stained the paddle is held in the smoke until it becomes a glossy black. In this respect Makah paddles differ from the paddles of the north coast, which are painted with striking totemic designs, in red and black.

The middle part of the shaft is not stained, because it is later wrapped evenly with kelp-stem. This material is used for fish-lines, and is very tough. This wrapping of kelp gives a very satisfactory hand-hold.

THE CANOE-BAILER

An important article in the Makah canoe is the wooden bailer, xutcΔ'k. Several types of bailers are in use on the Northwest Coast, some of them quite ingenious. Boas figures several wooden specimens, of the general appearance of dippers or scoops, and one made of cedar-bark (Boas, 1909, p. 446). The Makah use only one type, and this is a type which, as far as I know, has not been described. Its general appearance is shown in Fig. 10, *a*. The use for which it is intended would hardly be suspected from its appearance, in the first sketch. It is pyramidal in shape, hollowed from a single block of maple or alder, qwΔxsa'bΔp. Cedar is too soft for the purpose for which the object is intended; it would wear out very quickly. The ends of the utensil are somewhat concave when viewed from the outside, and concavity deepens into a crease at the apex of the bailer. Two holes are bored transversely (Fig. 10, *b*) through the sides of this channel, and a cedar peg driven through. This peg serves to fasten a loop or hoop made of two cedar twigs twined together and bound with string of nettle fiber. The loop forms a convenient handle by which the utensil may be carried. The Indian often puts the handle of his paddle through this loop, or may carry several bailers at once, strung on the shaft of his paddle. The loop also serves as handle by which the bailer is clutched in scooping the water out of a boat (Fig. 10, *c*). The fact that the loop is seated

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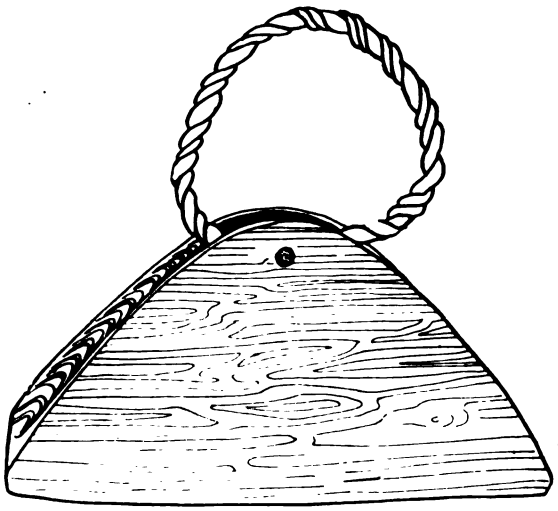

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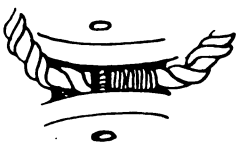

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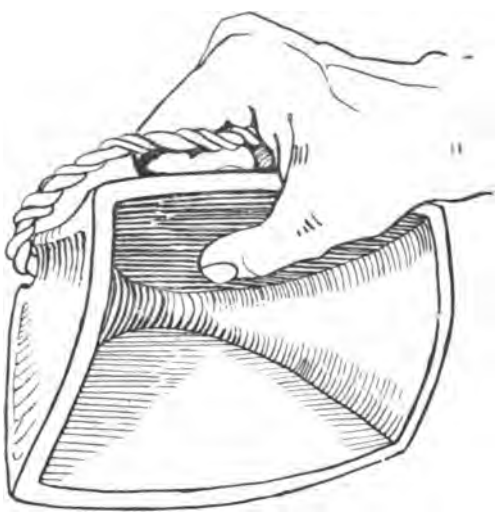

FIG. 10—Canoe-bailer of alderwood. University of Washington, State Museum, Catalog Number 73. Length, 8 inches (20.5 cm.): *a*, the bailer; *b*, attachment of the loop-handle, viewed from above; *c*, diagram showing how the bailer is clutched when in use.

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in the bottom of the crease prevents it from being worn in two through scraping the sides and bottom of the boat.

A more effective utensil than this bailer could scarcely be devised. A person can with one scoop of this instrument throw over a much larger amount of water than the utensil itself contains; for it fits closely against the curve of the boat, and a quantity of water is "pushed ahead" of it. A boat can be cleared in half the time that would be occupied in bailing with a can or a tin kettle. The instrument is cleverly designed; and in this simple utensil one observes the same merging of lines, and the same effect of compactness and unity, that can be noticed in the forty-foot canoe. The bailer is colored a smooth, deep red, inside and out, by the use of "hemlock" paint, as described above. The use of this type of bailer seems to be characteristic of the Makah.

THE WHALING HARPOON AND ITS ACCESSORY DEVICES

The complete harpooning apparatus consists of the harpoon-shaft; the harpoon head (itself made up of numerous parts); a lanyard; floats; various sections of harpoon line, to which the floats are attached; and lines for towing the quarry home.

THE HARPOON-SHAFT

Information contained in previous accounts

The harpoon-shaft is composed of two carefully selected pieces of yew, scarfed together at the middle of the instrument. The end of each section is cut diagonally, and the two sloping surfaces are matched, fitted together, and bound with braided cord of cedar-bark fiber. The reason for using two pieces of yew was not known to Edward Curtis, nor to Swan. The underlying cause may be that it is difficult to find one clear piece of the proper length, this length varying from fourteen to eighteen feet in different weapons (Curtis, Vol. 11, p. 16; Swan, p. 20).

The shaft tapers to a point at each end.

Additional notes on the harpoon-shaft

Very particular care is taken with the manufacture of the harpoon-shaft, dupu′ yɛq (du-poi-ak, in Swan's orthography, 1870, p. 21). Its dimensions vary according to circumstances. Swan gives the length as 18 feet. A Makah specimen examined by myself (University of Washington State Museum, catalogue number 213) measured only 13 feet 6 inches. The University of Washington specimen consists, as is invariably the case, of two independent sections, neatly scarfed together in the middle. My informant was sure that there is a *practical* reason for making the shaft in two parts; though he could not remember what the reason was. This scarf (tsΔ′t·as; cf. tsΔtsΔ′t'eyax = points where fore shafts, etc., detach) begins five feet from the head of the shaft. The two oblique surfaces which make the joint, are exquisitely smoothed, and fitted. Each surface is about nine inches long. A white man would hardly attempt to make this joint "hold," but the Indian wraps it very carefully with braided cedar-bark (tsi.ι′sy), and the whole is rigid when done. On the University of Washington specimen the scarf had begun to loosen

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from age or the drying out of the wood. Cedar-bark string is used because it does not loosen when wet, as sinew or seal-gut would do. The string is braided instead of twisted, so that it will be flat on the shaft, and take better hold. On top of this braided sling is a wrapping of wild-cherry bark. This serving of bark around the scarf gives an excellent hold for the left hand of the harpooner.

At another point the shaft is wrapped for about nine inches, to afford a "grip" to the harpooner's right hand. This wrapping also consists of braided cedar-bark, covered with a spiral wrapping of cherry-bark. The two "hand-grips" are separated by a space of 27 inches.

The tip of the harpoon is channeled out along one side (see Fig. 11). The sinew lanyard which leads back from the harpoon head to the float just fits into this groove.

FIG. 11—Tip of harpoon shaft, showing the groove into which fits the lanyard leading back from the harpoon-head. University of Washington, Catalog Number 213. Length of groove, 12 inches (31 cm).

The harpoon-shaft becomes warped very easily and has to be very carefully straightened before each hunt.

The Indian straightens an 18-foot harpoon-shaft exactly as he does a 28-inch arrow-shaft, by heating it and carefully wrenching it back to "true." He wraps the shaft with big-leaved kelp, and holds it over the fire. When warm and steaming and thoroughly heated through, he straightens it over his knee.

The Indian usually tries to get for his harpoon-shaft a piece of material that will carry with it "good luck" in whale-hunting. The material itself is yew, tL'ixa'ktLbΔp (tL'i'xuk=red; u'bΔp=kind, species), and is carefully selected. Swan gives an account of a pillar-like rock with a cavity near its top which stands in the sea near Cape Flattery. In this cavity there rested in his day a great spar. The Indians, according to Swan, looked upon this spar with veneration, and believed that anybody attempting to dislodge it would fall off the crag and be drowned. A photograph of this rock is shown in Plate 3. The spar, by the time the photograph was taken, had decayed and fallen to pieces. My informant says that many an Indian tried in former years to get this spar for a harpoon-shaft, believing that its unusual situation indicated that there was "power" in it. No one was willing to ask for help in reaching it, because secrecy, as mentioned above, was an essential feature in all preparations for whaling, and so the spar stayed there till it rotted.

THE HARPOON-HEAD

Information contained in previous accounts

The harpoon-head is made up of several elements cunningly joined together. The foundation consists of a pair of pointed barbs, made of elk-antler or bone, which fit neatly together (Curtis, Vol. 11, p. 16; Swan, pp. 19, 39). The end of the whale-sinew lanyard is attached by unlaying the strands and making them fast around the barbs; and then winding the whole with cord and strips of cherry-bark.

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A socket is fashioned in the rear of the head, into which the point of the wooden harpoon-shaft exactly fits. The blade, or cutting edge, was formerly made of a large mussel-shell (Curtis, Vol. 9, p. 66), but in recent years of copper, or steel saw-blade (Swan, pp. 19, 39). This blade, whatever the material, is cut into the shape shown in Fig. 12, and inserted between two barbs, the ends of which are cut away to accommodate it. A "fat" knot of spruce is set in front of a fire, and the gum which melts out is caught in a shell. This gum is kneaded and spread smoothly over the harpoon-head. [Boas, 1909, p. 488, says "the point of the salmon spear is gummed over to make it smooth and prevent it from tearing the fish". The spreading of gum over the harpoon-head may in similar fashion tend to make it smooth, so that it may cut its way deeper when the quarry is struck.]

Additional notes on the harpoon-head.

The finished harpoon-head is a very neat and tidy union of a number of separate elements. The word for the device, considered as a finished product is qwi''kapL (<kwı'ktcu=to sharpen by grinding). Swan (1870, pp. 20, 21) gives kwe-kaptl, kwe-kwahptl. The harpoon-head most familiar to students who frequent museums is the Eskimo type, carved from a block of ivory, provided with barbs, a crack or socket for the reception of the cutting blade, and a perforation for the attachment of the harpoon-line, all in one piece. The most striking peculiarity of the Makah specimens is that they consist of two separate halves of antler or bone, cunningly joined by binding with string. The reason for the difference is, I presume, that the Eskimo harpoon has in the first place a smaller head, and in the second place walrus ivory is available from which the head may be wrought. The Makah have no ivory, and the pieces of bone or antler which they employ are not large enough to permit the carving out of a solid head. They are in a sense compelled to piece their device together in two sections. The harpoon-heads of this whole region, even to the salmon gigs, are made on this same plan, by binding two elements together. Such porpoise and salmon harpoons are described by Boas (1909, pp. 489-495, figures 156, 157). The porpoise harpoon which Professor Boas figures however, has riveting in place of lashings to hold the two segments of the head together.

The method of assembling the parts of the whaling head is shown in a general way in Swan's work, especially in his figure 4. The details may be seen in the drawings appended herewith (figure 12; and also Plate 8, *c* and *d*.) The separate parts of the head are shown in drawings *a* and *b*, figure 12, with the complete head below.

I am not certain about the purpose of the external wrappings of cherry-bark found in this device, and the coating of spruce gum. The gum may be primarily for the purpose of glossing over the string wrappings, and making the head smooth. This is indicated by Boas' account (1909, p 488). Smoothness would decrease the resistance, as the head is driven into the quarry, and enable the huntsman to plant the weapon much more deeply. It was very important to wound the animal as severely as possible at the first thrust, for this made the consequent fight much

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shorter. With luck a harpooner could at the first blow drive his weapon into the huge bulk of the whale clear to the lungs. The intention in applying the wrappings and the gum may also have been to exclude the water. The lines on shipboard which are subject to immersion, are carefully wrapped with canvas and covered with pitch ("parcelled, served and pitched"). This makes them last five times as long. In the present case, excluding the water was even more important, because sinew lashings become loosened and "give" when wet. The cherry-bark lashings are very smooth and glossy, and inasmuch as several feet, or several yards of the lanyard follow the head into the tissues of the animal, the lessening of friction is undoubtedly important.

A word about mussel-shell harpoon blades may not be out of place. When the fact is recalled that the entire central part of the blade was cut out, to enable it to fit over the lashings of the head, it seems that the mussel-shell blade must have proven a very weak and fragile thing. The material of the shell itself is, of course, extremely brittle. After the blade was firmly gummed in place, the gum was cleaned away from the edges, and these were thoroughly sharpened. Brittle material often shows astonishing penetrating powers, when driven with a sharp impact. Flint, for example, makes a very effective tip for arrows. Dr. Saxton Pope, at the University of California, found by experiment that the obsidian-tipped arrow would penetrate further into animal tissue than a steel-tipped arrow would. The reason he ascribes for this fact is that the flint head, being serrated, cuts a way and clears an opening for the shaft, better than the thin steel blade does. I dare say the mussel-shell harpoon blade inflicted a deeper wound on the whole than the more modern steel blade which has replaced it, even though the shell blade may often have been shattered in the process. The shattering in such material does not come until after the impact is completed, and the wound inflicted. In other words the inflicting of the wound is almost instantaneous, while the shattering of the head, if it does shatter requires an instant or two of time. This accounts for the fact that a delicate flint-arrow-point can be driven into a thick buffalo skull, or vertebra, as set forth by Wilson[9]. It must be remembered that the *blade* of the harpoon has no part in holding the animal. This is entirely the function of the bone barbs. The sinew lanyard is most painstakingly attached to these devices of bone, for any failure in the coherence of these elements means the loss of the quarry. The coating of spruce gum, on the other hand, is all that holds the blade in its place. The blade is thus attached with only sufficient firmness to make certain that it will not come loose as the harpoon is brandished. It will, of course, stand shocks of all degrees, as long as they are directed from the front, until it flies to pieces from impact.

The harpoon head is kept in a sheath made of a rectangular piece of cedar bark. This is folded over across its middle. The ends are frayed out for several inches, and fine shreds of cedar-bark are worked across in plain twining (called tc³ba'tyu, cf. tci'bat,=canoe-mat). Several harpoon heads are taken along on each trip, each one enclosed in a separate sheath. The collection of heads is kept in a special

[9] 1901, pp. 513-521 Moorehead, in his "Stone Age in North America (Vol. 1, pp. 112-121, figure 80, 81), quotes Wilson's paper at some length, and reproduces two photographs of skulls, one human and the other bison, with delicate flint points driven into them.

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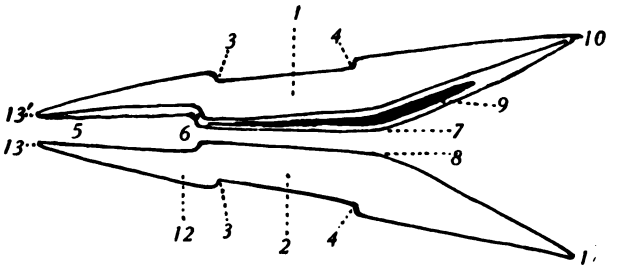
basket, called ha'³aL (Plate 5). This bag or basket is of checkerwork, and has a flaring top. The basket in which ordinary fishing tackle is kept, is made in the same weave, but is rectangular in shape, without the flaring upper portion.



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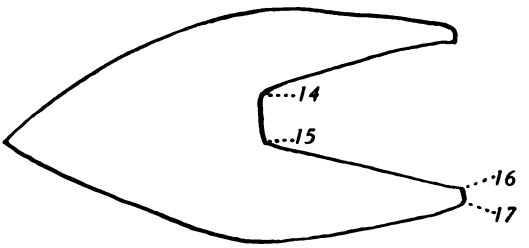

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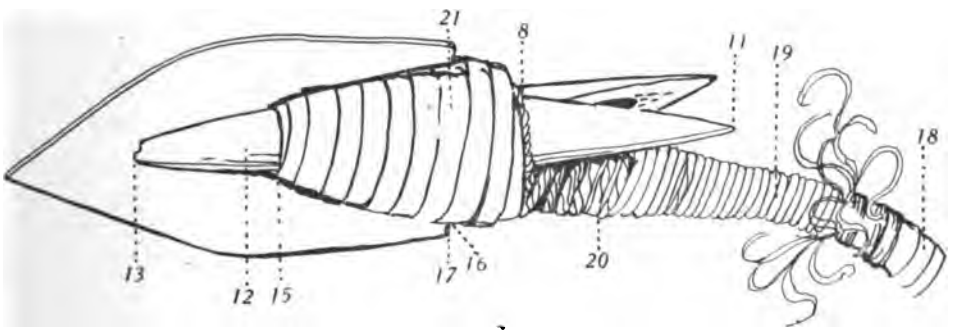

FIG. 12—Diagram showing the assembling of the parts of the whaling harpoon-head: *a*, the complete head; *b*, the cutting edge of mussel-shell or metal; *c*, the bone hafts or barbs.

NOMENCLATURE

Element	*Swan*	*Present Informant*
Barbs (*a, 1, 2*)	tsa-kwat (p. 21)	ts'a'kwΔt (= antler)
Blade (*b*)	kut-so-wit	.....
Lanyard (*c, 18*)	kluks-ko	Lu'ksku
Cherry-bark (*c, 21*)	.....	tLexa'paL
Spruce gum	.....	LΔk'ɩl'tubc

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METHOD OF ASSEMBLING PARTS

The hafts (1 and 2) are brought together along the line 6-7. A wide groove, 3-4, extending around these hafts, serves to hold in place a wrapping of sinew strands. These strands are derived from the sinew lanyard, the end of which is "unlayed" and the separate elements fitted over the hafts. These strands are first wound around the pair of hafts as around a spool. Then a turn is taken in the transverse direction between the two hafts, forming what a seaman would call a "seizing". A socket, 5-6, between the forward ends of the barbs, is for the reception of the blade, *b*. From the points indicated by the numbers 7 and 8, the hafts are caused to diverge. A groove or channel, 9, in one of these hafts, when united with a similar channel in the opposite barb, forms a hole or socket for the reception of the pointed tip of the yew harpoon-shaft. The rear projection of the hafts (10, 11) acts as barbs, to prevent the head from being pulled out of the animal.

Great care is taken with the disposition of the ends of the lanyard, over the harpoon-head. At least one heavy strand is brought through the socket at the point indicated by the number 6 (see also Plate 8), and is worked in an ingenious fashion under the other wrappings. This makes it certain that the lanyard can by no chance pull away from the barbs. When the strands are disposed over the head to the satisfaction of the artificer, the whole head is wound with strips of wildcherry bark (numbered 21 in the diagram).

At this time the blade, *b*, is inserted in the proper socket (5-6). The edge 15-16 fits over the lashings of the head. The edge numbered 14-15 rests against the turn of sinew cord which passes over the point 6. A thin wedge of wood is driven between the surface of the blade and the front tip of the hafting (13, Fig *a* or *c*). The blade is then fastened more securely in place with spruce-gum. A solid coating of the gum is then applied over the whole head, making it very smooth. The gum is scraped away from the edges of the blade, which are very painstakingly sharpened. The surface of this spruce-gum coating is as smooth and glossy as varnish.

The front end of the lanyard, near the harpoon-head, is served with nettle-fiber string (*c*, 19). Beginning at the point 18, the nettle-string wrapping is replaced by a continuous wrapping or "parceling" of wild-cherry bark, which covers its entire length. In some specimens, however, the serving of nettle-fiber string goes the entire length of the lanyard.

THE WHALING LANYARD

Notes on the lanyard contained in previous accounts

The lanyard is a strong rope of whale sinew, an inch or more in diameter, very carefully and smoothly laid, served with string made of nettle fiber, and covered with a continuous spiral wrapping of strips of wild-cherry bark or nettle-fiber string. The free end is worked very neatly into a loop (Curtis, Vol. 11, p. 16; Swan, pp. 19, 20, 39).

The Vancouver Island tribes make such lanyards of sea-lion gut, split, cleaned, and dried, and rolled into a hard round cord. These cords are wrapped spirally with string made of nettle-fiber (Curtis, Vol. 9, p. 54).

BUOYS OR FLOATS

Features of the buoy or sealskin float described by other writers

Buoys made of sealskin are attached to the harpoon line. They have the purpose of retarding the whale, and of making the carcass float after the animal's death. Such a float consists of the skin of a hair-seal, turned with the hair inward, made water-tight, and inflated (Curtis, Vol. 11, pp. 31, 33, 35; Swan, p. 20). The valve for inflatation (according to one author) is at the left flipper (Curtis, Vol. 11, p. 33). These floats are painted in various simple patters with red ochre (Swan p.30).

The male hair-seal supply the strongest buoys. The skins can be obtained at any season of the year, and are equally good at all times. The hide or pelt, tuqwΔ'k, is stripped from the animal with as little cutting as possible. The head and front flippers are cut away and the body encircled about halfway down its length. The skin from the front half of the animal is then "peeled off" in a forward direction, turning the hide inside out. This skin is then carefully scraped to get the "grease" off. Well scraped skins last better and are more pliable. After the scraping, the skin is usually smoked, which turns it a soft brown in color. The holes left by removing the head and flippers of the animal are stopped up in the following way (see figure 13): A plug or spool of wood is inserted in the orifice, and the loose hide carefully "gathered" around it, as smoothly as

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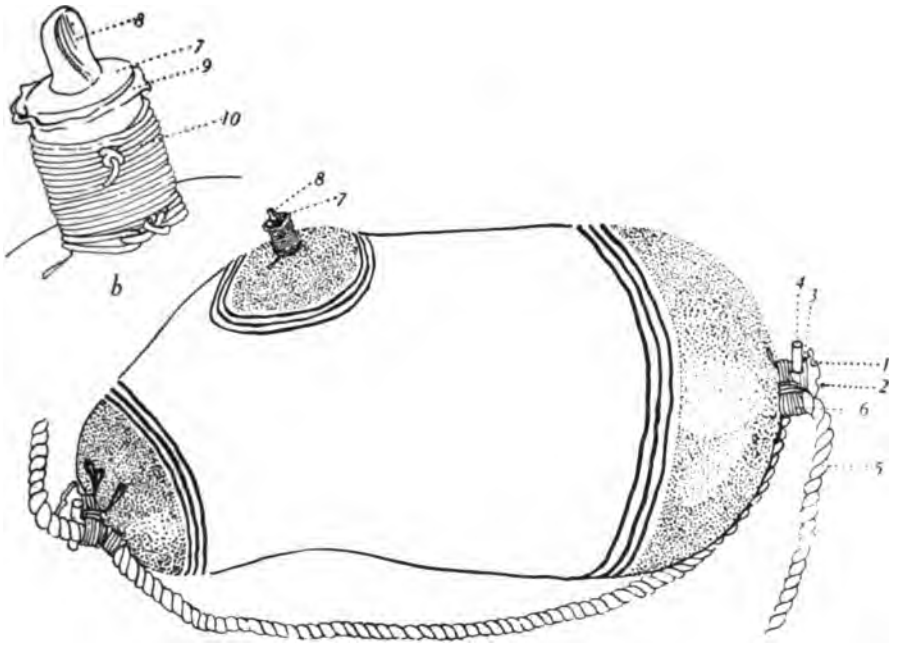

FIG. 13—The float or buoy: *a*, the complete float with its attachments; *b*, detail drawing showing the nipple and plug for inflation. Diameter at widest part, 17 inches (43 cm).

NOMENCLATURE

Lower figure

a. Buoy, tukwa'kap·ıL (= . . . . outside).
1. Folds of hide, hıhıqsΔqso, bunched or gathered around a wooden spool.
2. Wooden spool, atcıska'pub (<atcı'L = something put between other things: "filler").
3. Wrapping of gut string, which binds the folds of hide to the spool.
4. Yew-wood peg or skewer, kʋdʋ'tcskapub (= holding something in place). This prevents the wrapping of gut string from slipping over the spool.
5. Rope of spruce-root, or cedar-fiber.
6. Lashing or serving of sinew string, batLska'pub, attaching the buoy-rope to the buoy.
7. Nipple, or perforated spool, by which the buoy is inflated.
8. Plug or stopper, hʋkska'pub (<hʋkstcu = to screw in: this stopper fits the opening very tightly, to prevent the buoy from becoming deflated).

Upper figure

7. Nipple.
8. Stopper.
9. Folds of hide.
10. Wrappiing of gut string, which fastens the hide to the spool.

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possible. These folds are then fastened down to the spool by winding with gut string. A peg or skewer is then thrust transversely through the folds of hide, to prevent this wrapping from slipping over the spool. The plug at one of the front flippers is perforated down its axis. This opening serves for the inflation of the float. When filled with air, the hole is stoppered with a small wooden plug or "cork" of yew wood. Accidental leaks in the buoy, such as those made by the hunter in killing the animal, are stopped by plugging with a piece of rope. Such a mend or patch is called q'a'tstcu (q'a'tscatL,=to make a difficult patch, or repair). A cedar or spruce-root line is attached to the buoy, being strongly lashed at either end to it with sinew. The free ends of this rope serve to attach the buoy to the whaling line. As is usual with Makah lines, the ends are reduced in size, tapering down at their tips. This makes the line easier to tie, but must apparently reduce its strength. These buoys are kept in a flattened condition. Before being used, they are soaked in water, and inflated. This work is done when on the whaling grounds (see below).

The principal features of the ornamentation of seal-skin buoys can be seen in the figure. The areas where the head and flippers once were are colored solid with red ochre, Lıxtce'hıbıs, mixed with rotten salmon roe, a'tcpab. These areas are surrounded with several concentric circles. In addition to these simple ornamented areas, figures are sometimes added to represent the thunder-bird, LukLu'tc, or the "lightning animal, "xcxe'tu'k; the latter a creature having the shape of a snake, striped transversely with black and white, who travels through the air. These designs are not totemic, but are intended in some mysterious way to make the buoy more deadly to the whale.

The pursuit of the hair-seal whose hides supplied the buoys was itself an occupation not devoid of excitement. The two pronged harpoon used for this purpose, and for porpoise hunting, and the method of handling the canoe, are described in detail by Boas (1909, pp. 488-495; 500-504, 506) and need not be gone into here. The Makah used also to waylay the seal at their "haul-up" places. They could sometimes kill a seal at 75 feet, by hurling the harpoon, though they usually cast at a distance of 30 feet. Sometimes a big bull when harpooned would show fight, and threaten to tear a canoe to pieces. In that case, they bent a buoy onto the harpoon line and let it go, picking the quarry up after he had died of his wounds. They usually carried one or more buoys in a canoe for this purpose and to use as life-preservers in case of a capsize.

Swan (p. 30.) tells of deep caverns in the cliffs, in which the seals congregate. He says briefly that the Indians go in with a torch and kill numbers by clubbing them. The actual procedure has some picturesque features. There are ten or more of these caverns in the vicinity of Cape Flattery, including some on Tatoosh Island, and certain of them are of enormous dimensions, extending into the bowels of the Cape for some hundreds of yards. A cliff containing several of these caves may be seen in Plate 30. The hunter tied his hair (which was formerly worn long) in a knot on the top of his head. This knot was firmly wrapped with sinew, and a skewer run through to keep the wrapping from slipping off. Into this knot of hair

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long splints of spruce pitch-wood (duqwi'ets) were thrust, so that they stood up vertically. The best pitch-wood was selected for this purpose, dried, and split into fine pieces. These "lights" or splints were two feet long. When this apparatus was securely in place on his head, the hunter took his sealing club, lighted the splints at the top, lowered himself into the sea, and swam into the cave. The light of the burning splints blinded and stupified the seals, and enabled the hunter to club them easily. When he had killed five or six, he tied them together, took the ends of the thong in his teeth, and towing his kill behind him, swam out again.

A number of years ago a hunter went with a companion to certain sea cave which has a very small opening, a sort of oblique slit, very narrow and difficult to get through. When he was well inside, the surf put his light out, leaving him in inky blackness. There was a tremendous and incessant swishing of waves in the darkness on every side, and the hunter, becoming confused, had no means of knowing which way the entrance lay. The companion in the canoe outside the cave foolishly idled most of the afternoon, waiting for the hunter to appear. Then he was driven away by a sudden squall. The next day it was calm again, and a rescue party went to the cave. A volunteer put on his head the usual outfit of splints, swam far into the depths of the cavern, and there found our hero sitting placidly on a shelf of rock. When his light went out, he "hauled up" like a seal, and with true Indian patience, sat there without light, fire, raiment or food, until help came.

LINES AND ROPES

Boas gives a complete account of the manufacture of the various kinds of ropes and lines (1909, pp. 369-382), including the gathering and preparation of fibres. The manufacture of lines is also referred to by Curtis, (Vol. 9, p. 146; Vol. 11, p. 16) and Swan (p. 21). It may be well to merely enumerate the principle varieties. The stem of the kelp is dried and used for fish-lines. String of nettle fibre is sometimes used for the same purpose. The harpoon lanyard is manufactured from whale sinew, wound or served with nettle-fibre string, and covered with a wrapping of cherry-bark. These lanyards are beautiful examples of workmanship. Fine lines, which are, however, very strong, are made from sea-lion intestine (called tskikyu'p by the Makah), which is split and rolled into a string. These lines are used just as they are for many purposes, for example, for bow strings and for the halyards of the canoe sail. Ropes consisting of a number of strands of this material are sometimes manufactured. Bear-guts are sometimes used in a similar way Curtis mentions a rope of gut, twisted spirally with nettle-fibre string, as being made on Vancouver Island. Lines are made of seal-skin and elk-hide. The hide is cut spirally in a long narrow strip, and this strip rolled or twisted into a thong. Such thongs can be used as they are, or twisted or plaited into heavier lines. Bark fibres are somtimes made into ropes. The heavy lines, such as are used in whaling tackle, consist either of spruce-root fibres, or slender cedar withes. Very long cedar twigs somewhat thicker than a pencil are cut from the tree, being very carefully selected. The bark is removed,

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and by heating, twisting and working, the fibres are separated until the twig is practically as soft and pliable as rope. These withes are then ready for use, for example, in fastening the thwarts in a canoe as described above (page 21). In this condition, they are stronger than hemp rope, and five times as durable. They were also woven into excellent large ropes, which were very smoothly and evenly laid in three strands. These various kinds of lines are used in different ways in the whaling tackle, largely depending upon the supply of each that is available. Towing us usually done with elk-hide ropes, but if lots of line is needed, cedar is used to piece out.

THE WHALE HUNT

The hunting of the whale has for the white observer two distinct aspects. From our point of view the matter of greatest concern would be the arrangement of the tackle within the boat, and the methods of approaching and striking the quarry. From the Indian standpoint, however, the really important matter is the proper observance before and during the hunt of various cermonial performances for procuring help from the spirits. The Indians, to be sure, see with the very greatest care to all practical matters connected with whaling expeditions, but they seem to look upon the religious performances as much more essential to success. Secrecy in the religious preparations is very commonly observed. Curtis in his volume on the Nootka gives a great deal of information about whale hunting. Quite an elaborate account of a whaling expedition, an account which describes both the ceremonialism and the operations of killing and disposing of the quarry, will be found in the same volume, pp. 19-34. This passage is the story of a Nootka hero Umik and his successor. Swan gives some information, very briefly. We may discuss first the ceremonies, the outstanding features of which may be summarized as follows.

Religious observances connected with whale-hunting as described by other authors.

Help from the spirits. Possession of a "medicine," or power of a spiritual nature, is necessary before a man can sucessfully captain a whaling canoe (Curtis, Vol. 9, p. 9; Vol. 11, p. 16).

Bathing. This is a most necessary part of the preparation for a hunt. The seeker after "power" goes early every morning to a freshwater lake or pond. Entering the water at dawn, he sits down until the skin is "soaked" well. Then he stands up and rubs himself with bunches of hemlock twigs, about one span in length, beginning the operation on the left side of his body. When the needles are worn off of one bunch, and the bare twigs covered with blood, he wades ashore, takes a second bunch, and rubs his right side. He continues this until the four bunches with which he has provided himself are all used up, (Curtis, Vol. 11, p. 20).

Imitating the whale. After rubbing, the candidate dives down, staying under as long as possible. Mention is made of blood bursting from a bather's ears from long submergence. He does this four times, and on emerging each time, he blows a mouthful of water toward the center of the lake, trying to make a sound resembling the blowing of the whale (Curtis, Vol. 11, p. 20).

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His movements are always quiet, and slow; "so that the whale will act in the same way" (Curtis, Vol. 11, p. 25). [The point is that otherwise the whale, when struck, may thresh about and knock the canoe to fragments, or may set off at high speed and tow the party twenty miles to sea.]

When a whaler's wife is helping him at his devotions, she sometimes holds the end of a rope which is tied about his waist [representing the harpoon line.] In this condition he sings whaling songs, and walks around her, with the slow undulating movements of the whale, the woman repeating over and over again, "This is the way the whale will act!" (Curtis, Vol. 11, p. 38).

Mention is made by Curtis of a performance by a whaler, in which he stands erect in a pond, shaking a rattle, and holding his left hand out with the thumb sticking up "like the fin of a whale" (Vol. 11, p. 37).

Prayers. Whalers pray at night in whispers for success. Mention is made of "Four Chiefs," to whom they pray (Curtis, Vol. 11, p. 28). They are also reported to beg the sun for success. [The present writer's informant insists that they direct their prayers to Daylight, tL'ɩsi'xaq, not to the sun; the word for sun being tL'ɩsi'xa'pɩL]. They also pray directly to the whales, both in the preparation-period, and after the animal is struck by the harpoon. The following prayer of a Clayquot bather deserves to be quoted at length. It is given in Curtis' volume on the Nootka (Vol. 11, p. 37).

"Whale, I want you to come near me, so that I will get hold of your heart and deceive it, so that I will have strong legs and not be trembling and excited when the whale comes and I spear him. Whale, you must not run out to sea when I spear you. Whale if I spear you, I want my spear to strike your heart. Harpoon, when I use you, I want you to go to the heart of the whale. Whale, when I spear at you and miss you, I want you to take hold of my spear with your hands. Whale, do not break my canoe, for I am going to do good to you. I am going to put eagle-down and cedar bark in your back."

After the whale is struck, songs are sung to make him "come along" easily. "When the whale is weak and going ashore, he likes to hear the whaler sing," (Curtis. Vol. 11, p. 37). These songs themselves are in the nature of prayers. The following is an example: "It is good for you to go quickly toward the shore, so that the young men may see you quickly, for they all wish to see you." (Nootka song, Curtis, Vol. 11, p. 32). Series consisting of one hundred "towing songs" are mentioned.

The following prayer is utteered, according to Curtis, after a whale is harpooned: "Whale, I have given you what you wish to get—my good harpoon. And now you have it. Please hold it with your strong hands. Do not let go. Whale, turn toward the fine beach of Yahksis, and you will be proud to see the young men come down on the fine sandy beach of my village at Yahksis to see you; and the young men will say to one another: 'What a great whale he is! What a fat whale he is! What a strong whale he is!' And you, whale, will be proud of all that you will hear them say of your greatness. Whale, do not turn outward, but hug the shore, and tow me to the beach of my village of Yahksis, for when you come ashore there, young men will cover your great body with bluebill duck feathers, and with the down of the great eagle, the chief of all birds; for this is what you are wishing, and this is what you are trying to find from one end of the world to the other, every day you are traveling and spouting." (Vol. 11, p. 23).

Use of Skeletons and Corpses. All sources of information mention a curious practice of using skeletons, or skulls, or corpses, during the ceremonial bathing. One of Curtis' Quilliute whalers used to take a skull from a burial place, tie it on

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a rope about his waist and then swim about, "sounding" and "blowing" like a whale. That was why he was successful, taking over forty whales in all. Vol. 9, p. 147.) In some cases skeletons from grave boxes are "joined up" and suspended somewhere in the woods. Prayers are directed to them, and they are carried on the whaler's back as he bathes. The arms of the skeleton are tied together behind its head and the whaler puts his head through the arms, getting the cadaver on his back (Curtis, Vol. 11, p. 29). Then he swims about in the pond, diving and spouting.

In former times, fresh corpses were used in this way (Curtis, Vol. 11, pp. 103-110). The body must be that of a male, dead not more than four days. Occasionally a small boy could be killed for the purpose. Sometimes the corpse was skinned, by cutting along the front of the body and the inside of the hips, the whaler diving with the skin tied on his own body (Curtis, Vol. 11, p. 39). When a corpse was used the lower part of the legs and the forearms were cut off. A pad of rose-bushes and nettles was put on the whaler's back, and the body was placed upon that pad, the back of the corpse against the whaler's back. One time a man put a corpse on his back in preparation for bathing, face forward, and it took a death grip on his throat, and killed him. When visiting a grave-box to get a dead body, the whaler walked with an undulating movement (Curtis, Vol. 11, p. 39).

Taboos. Whalers are very careful in observing taboo in connection with women. It is best to avoid any kind of contact or association with women, for some of them might be ceremonially unclean (Curtis, Vol. 11, p. 23). The whaler's wife helps him with his vigils, but the two sleep in separate places, and avoid all mention or thought of sex matters (Curtis, Vol. 11, p. 34). The woman bathes, as does her husband, spouting like a whale, sometimes with a skeleton on her back. At the time when the whaler embarks for the hunt, the woman lies down with a new mat over her, and does not move, or eat, or drink, until her husband returns (Curtis, Vol. 11, p. [illegible]). The whaler himself never eats whale meat, lest he have difficulty in killing more whales (Curtis, Vol. 11, p. 18).

[illegible] *Dress.* The whaler and his wife wear a head dress of split [illegible] and ornaments resembling the "saddle" of the whale (Curtis, Vol. 11, [illegible]). These head dresses and some other decorations are shown in Curtis' [illegible] (Vol. [illegible], Plate [illegible]). When putting to sea [illegible] a whaler wears a black twig on his forehead, and a bear-[illegible] (Curtis, Vol. [illegible], p. [illegible]). Whalers [illegible] a part of knot or [illegible] (Curtis, p. [illegible])

[illegible]

[illegible]

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ARRANGEMENT OF EQUIPMENT FOR WHALING.

Curtis in volume 11, p. 17 of his work, gives a brief description of whaling methods. I have been able to find no complete account of the actual pursuit of the whale, so the matter may perhaps be gone into here. The stowing of the complicated equipment in the canoe involves a very high technique. We may consider this matter first. Mention has already been made of the "spaces" into which the canoe is divided by the thwarts. These spaces are apportioned for the different operations of the hunt. They are indicated in the accompanying diagram (Figure 14).

The most important man in the whaling canoe is the harpooner. He is the leader of the party, and captains the expedition. His native title is γ'u'tax, hunter or searcher. His position is in the bow of the boat, where he takes his stand with his weapon. The harpoon itself is sixteen feet long, and carries on its point the bone-barbed harpoon-head, which is edged with mussel shell (see page 32 above for a description of the weapon). To the harpoon is attached about four fathoms of tough sinew rope, with a noose at the end. The space at the bow where the hunter stands is kept clear of everything so that the chief performer shall not be hampered in handling his weapon. Things "happen" very quickly when the whale is struck, and any confusion of the tackle, or a momentary fouling, may mean the loss of the whale, or the capsizing of the boat. The man in the next adjoining space abaft the hunter's position, on the port side, has as his single duty the prompt "bending on" of a buoy together with eight or ten fathoms of heavy cedar rope. All of this tackle is tied by means of a reef-knot (t'a'bυqcL) to a loop at the end of a sinew leader. As the whale goes down, after being struck, one section of line after another is bent to the first one. Sealskin floats, qwιso':tΔs(c cf.qwιso'·tL ,= bladder), also are attached by special knots, at intervals of two fathoms. The whale is always harpooned from the right hand or port side of the boat, and it is the duty of the men seated along this side to help clear this tackle and get it overboard. No "ties" or knots are made between different sections of the gear, until each new section is safely over the side and clear of the boat. The whale takes the line out very rapidly at first, and if the tackle were joined up *in* the boat, any delay in getting it over the side would cause the boat to be jerked under water, or would cause a capsize. In addition to the harpoon and its complete outfit of floats and lines, the boat carries a sort of bone-pointed lance (butu'ysk) some four or five feet long, for use in dispatching the whale at close quarters, bailers (xutcΔ'k), wooden boxes (tcΔ'xsγb) of drinking water, a large number of extra floats, towing lines of elk-hide, cedar rope (tla'cuk), and food for the crew for at least two days. All of this equipment takes up room. The stowing of the apparatus so that it can be gotten out easily and rapidly and at the same time not interfere with the crew, is a highly developed art. Each pair of paddlers sit on the upturned end of a canoe-mat, tc'i'b'at, (=something put under one) which is laid down on the flooring, turned up behind the thwart, and folded forward so as to cover it. Thus the mat serves to cushion the seat, and also serves the purpose of preventing the tackle in that particular compartment from working astern and getting mixed up with other parts of the equipment, or interfering with the bailing of the canoe.

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THE PURSUIT OF THE WHALE.

It is the Indian belief that a "run" of whales occurs during a certain season of the year, corresponding to the run of salmon, or halibut. The species called sixwa'ox or "sore faces" (see below) are the first to run, migrating northward. The whalers used to put off from shore at sunset, in a spell of whaling weather, so as to get on the whaling grounds at daybreak. They usually encountered whales travelling northward along the coast. The various kinds of whales they recognize are as follows:

California grey whale, *Rachianectes glaucus*, called by Swan che-che-wid. This is the kind most frequently taken.

Sperm whale, called by Swan kots-ke, meaning, according to my infromation, "having something upon the head". There are several species of these, including the cachalot (*Rhyseter macrocephalus*) and the saw-toothed whale (*Ziphius carrostris*), which my informant does not distinguish one from the other.

Right whale (*Balaenoptera artifera?*), called itc'γ'p "old one" (Swan gives yakh'-yo-bad-di, not explained).

....Humpback whale (*Megaptera veisibilis*), called sixwa'ox, or "sore faces" (<si'xwi=sore). This variety is said to be similar to the right whale in proportions, and "runs" in the spring. The oil obtained from them is reddish.

Finback whale (*Balaenoptera davidsoni or B. vilifera*), called ka'owad, "sticking up in the middle" (<ka"ap=-protruding: apa'owΔd=in the middle).

Sulphur-bottom whale (*Balaenoptera sulfurea*), called kwaqwawe'axtLi, "noisy tail" (Swan gives kwa-kwau-yak-t'hle, not explained).

Killerwhale, or "blackfish" (*Orca*), called klasqo'kapɩx (<klaska'pɩL=smooth; -ɩL, generic).

When on the ground where whales might be expected, the seal-skin floats, which after soaking to make them soft, have been packed into the canoe in a flattened condition, are gotten out and inflated. The harpooner, takes his stand in the bow with his sixteen foot weapon, its barbed head, to which is attached the sinew lanyard, in readiness at its tip. The lanyard is "caught" to the shaft in several places with cedar bark lashing, which breaks very easily. He usually plants his right foot firmly at a point forward of the bow seat, and rests his left foot on a pair of short braces at the stem of the boat. This posture is called yɛtsa'wad (<yɛ'tsɛɩt =to kick). In this position, closely scanning the water ahead of him, he repeats a prayer. It is sometimes very hard to find whales, and to come up with them. At other times no trouble of any kind is experienced. It all depends, say the Indians, on the bathing a man has done. The whale when seen by the Indian is usually following a school of small fish. Coming up for breath, he rolls forward under water and disappears from sight, a moment later appearing again and "blowing." His motion is regular, and deliberate. The canoe cuts across his course and "lays" for him. When it seems possible to meet him in one dash, the steersman, tLɩtc·a', gives to the crew the word "hatsLtsatL" (come on!"). This steersman is usually an elderly man, with a great deal of experience. The idea is to run up along side of the whale as he emerges, so that he is to the right of the canoe. Combined luck and skill are required to bring the canoe sharply alongside of the quarry, and there is

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usually not an instant to spare. When close to the whale the starboard man on the forward seat, spoken of as the kaqai'yuwaxs (from his position in the forward "space") has the right to give the word c'v', ("now throw!"). The hunter is more or less guided by the judgement of the men behind him, all of whom have their eyes on the quarry. Sometimes the canoe runs fairly upon the animal as he emerges, the harpooneer striking him from a distance of six feet.

In brandishing his weapon, the harpooneer keeps his weight well forward on his feet, to insure steadiness. He swings the harpoon up over his head, turning his body towards the right side, the palms of both hands, in which he grasps the shaft, turned *outward*. This does not seem to be the natural position for a lunge, until it is tried, experimentally. This posture as a matter of fact gives much greater power, control, and freedom of effort, and enables the hunter to strike downward with all his might, and yet recover his balance quickly. This latter is a very essential point. Old Anderson, of Neah Bay, nichnamed dɛ'cyk ("strong"), once, in trying to regain his balance after striking a whale, stepped on a coil of the harpoon-line and got his foot entangled in it. The next moment he was twitched off his feet and pulled overboard, a bight of line around his ankle. A stricken whale when he "sounds," is sometimes gone for fifteen minutes, and when Anderson's friends saw him go down with the whale they thought he would certainly be drowned. He managed to get a grip on the line, however, and disengaged his foot, and came up blowing. He lived to harpoon many a whale after this adventure.

The best time to strike the whale is just as his head becomes submerged, as he "turns over" preparatory to going down. If struck while his tail is in the air, he is likely to knock the canoe into bits. Quite commonly a whale when struck flirts water over the boat until it is completely hidden from spectators, and filled half full. One switch of the tail, if it "lands", has been known to knock the bow off a canoe, and split it open from stem to stern. The inflated buoys in case of such a catastrophe are very convenient to hang to, until something can be done with the boat. Cases have been known, in which whale hunters caught in such an evil case, threw a line over the boat so as to draw the pieces together, then put some floats under the gunwales to buoy the boat up, and finally caulked the seam with a piece of shirt, and paddled home, after bailing out.

The moment the whale is struck, the man behind the harpooner throws over a float, instantly. In the interval of a second or two, he bends this float to the harpoon line. Meanwhile the other members of the crew back water with all their might, to get clear of their huge quarry. As he "sounds" and takes out the line, additional floats are bent on, new lines being added as the quarry goes into the depths. As many as thirteen floats may be attached to one line. The sections of line last added are lighter, since there is less strain upon them. Last of all a small buoy is added to serve as a "marker," attached by a very light cord. This buoy remains near the surface, and when the whale starts upward from his long submergence, it bobs quickly to the surface, long before the whale himself appears. The canoe races forward to that point, ready to plant another harpoon. Meanwhile, signals are made to any other canoe in the vicinity, that the quarry has been struck. On-

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of the crew stands up and calls "hya'o" and sticks up a blanket on a pole. The successful hunter promises the other crew some certain definite part of the animal, for example, the tongue, for their help in killing the game. Every harpoon that is struck into the whale carries a buoy, and as the number of these buoys increases the drag on the animal's progress is soon very serious. A wounded whale who has been struck a number of times, often cannot get more than six feet below the surface, hampered as he is by these buoyant floats. However, the huge animal if often extraordinarily tenacious of life, and what turns out to be a weary fight for the tired canoemen, continues for hours. An old Indian, bets'ɛ'kxa, nicknamed Santa Ana, once volunteered to ride a badly wounded whale. He clung fast to the lines, and dispatched the cetacean with a butcher-knife, by means of repeated hacking. When the whale "sounded" he clung fast and "went under" with him, stabbing him meanwhile as best he could. The Makah used to practice diving and holding the breath so as to be prepared for emergencies.

The actual arrangement of the tackle attached to the harpoon-head seems to have differed somewhat with different tribes. Curtis gives the following notes on the succession of elements in the long string of tackle.

Quilliute tribe (Vol. 9, p. 146)	*Nootka tribe* (Vol. 11, p. 16)
1. Harpoon head	1. Harpoon head
2. 4 fathoms of sinew line	2. 4 fathoms of sinew line
3. Float	3. Float
4. 10 fathoms of cedar line	4. 8 fathoms of 1½ inch plaited cedar line
5. Float	5. Float
6. 30 fathoms of line	6. 20 fathoms of ¾ inch line
7. Float	7. Float
8. 50 fathoms of line	8. 30 fathoms of ½ inch line
9. Float	9. Float

After the whale is dead, a certain member of the crew, the "diver," goes down as described by Curtis, and fastens a small line to the creature's lower jaw. This is then passed through the whale's upper lip, and made fast to the tow line. Pulling on this line jams the whale's lower jaw against the upper one and in this way his mouth is kept closed. They say that when the mouth is closed the body does not become water-logged and is towed more easily.

When the whale is newly killed some difficulty is experienced in keeping him afloat. The animal drowns, of course; that is, the lungs fill with water; and he tends to sink outright. He often disappears below the surface, being sustained only by the floats (see Plate 4). Upwards of twenty such floats are required for that purpose. These are attached separately to harpoon heads, and stuck into the head of the carcass. If the floats are too few in number, the whale is correspondingly deeper in the water.

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DISPOSITION OF THE WHALE-CARCASS

All authorities mention the cutting up of the whale, and refer to rules by which it was done. As far as I can discover the details are as follows. The whale, when towed ashore, is measured from blow-hole to hump. The unit consists of the distance the hunter can reach, from tip to tip of his fingers. The measurement, from blow-hole to hump establishes the size of the whale. Then the proper width for the "cuts" of blubber is computed. The cutting up of the whale is shown in figure 15. The "hump" is the richest in oil, and belongs to the hunter. According to Curtis, he sells it or gives it away, being afraid to eat it (see p. 40). The hump is called yu'b-Δtsk,=taboo-piece, (Swan's u'butsk, not explained) and is treated in a very ceremonious manner, described by Swan very fully, the main point being that it is set up on a sort of rack and left there for a considerable time, being decorated meantime with eagle down, and feathers, (see above, p. 39). This "saddle" is removed first of all. It is of the width already determined as being proper in the light of the size of the whole carcass. A strip extending clear around the animal at the point 5, (Fig 15), is next taken off. This belongs to the canoe which brought the first assistance. The lower jaw, 8, goes to this party, and often the tongue also. There are rules for the dividing of this tongue among the crew, the hunter or harpooner getting the largest piece. The material is not eaten, but the oil, which it contains in large quantities, is extracted from it. The flipper, lulΔ'pι ("hand") is eaten, and is often named in calling for assistance in the hunt. On the under side of the whale is an area covered with long creases, three or four inches deep. This is spoken of as the tsa-bΔ'kΔk ("strips"), and is often "promised away" beforehand. After the awards for assistance in the hunt are all made, the hunter gives away the remainder of the carcass as he thinks fit. He himself keeps the tail (Curtis, Vol. 11, p. 37). There is some blubber on the flukes (see 7, b) and the remainder is of a jelly-like consistency, like pigs-feet, when cooked. This distribution is the act so very characteristic of the northwestern Indians; that is, the cutting up of the whale and the distribution of the blubber is a form of potlatch. The donor knows to a pound what everybody receives, and expects a return at a future date. The meat of the whale is not removed, but the blubber (tL'a'bas) is highly valued. This blubber is cut with the short bone-pointed lance, butu'yek, mentioned above. It consists of a straight handle 4 or 5 feet long, with a chisel, butkaiya':p, of elk-antler. A hand-hold, su''Δts (=something one holds to) is cut in the top of the strip, and a line is made fast. As one man wields the chopper, another pulls the blubber away with the line, tci'ktup. Plate 6, *a*, shows this operation. The hand-hold also serves in carrying the blubber (see Plate 6, *b*), The oil extracted from this blubber is highly valued as a dressing for dried fish, and berry-cakes. After the oil is all extracted, the blubber itself is dried and eaten, having a pleasant taste, suggesting rich pork, though somewhat tougher. The dried blubber looks like citron, according to Swan. The skin of the whale is very thin, almost like paper, and has no value to the Indian. Under the skin are perpendicular fibres, called tLi'dits, about ¼ inch in diameter. (See Plate 5, *a*). These are very rich in fat, and are removed and eaten raw, or

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boiled. They are quite palatable in their raw state, and children especially are said to be fond of them.

There are many disagreeable features connected with the cutting up of the whale, which other authors seemed to have passed over without mention. I presume they are a necessary part of the account, however, if a true picture of the primitive food-quest is to be presented. They may be mentioned briefly. The stomach of the animal when he is killed usually contains from one to two tons of half-digested fish. This material begins to decay almost at once, and the carcass soon begins to be bloated, from the gases which accumulate. If two days are consumed in getting to the land, the tongue begins to protrude, the carcass "floats high" in the water, and the whale stinks desperately. It is the intestines that give rise to this odor, however, not the blubber. Even a perfectly fresh whale stinks when he is opened. It is said that the man who first opens the carcass on the beach is sometimes overcome by the gases, which burst out, and "cause him to faint." The process of decay goes on much more rapidly in the flesh than in the blubber, which keeps for an indefinite period, even if not removed from the whale. The flesh can be removed from the bones only after stripping off the blubber, which requires time. Possibly that is the reason the flesh of the whale is not more generally utilized. Blubber which has become rancid, through overmuch delay, is tried out, and the oil is used for various technological purposes, not for food. The bones, with the muscles and ligaments, are left on the beach for the birds and other scavengers. All of the blubber, however, down to that on the flukes, is carefully preserved.

RELIGIOUS OBSERVANCES CONNECTED WITH BRINGING IN THE WHALE

Formerly the whole village turned out to receive a whale, mostly, however, from excitement, and interest. The whaler's wife came down and danced, and sang. Eagle-down was placed upon the dead animal's hump, and on the blow-hole (Curtis, Vol. 11, p. 36). Menstruant women and adolescent girls were supposed to stay in the house, and not see the whale; otherwise, they would spoil the "luck." Before cutting up the carcass, the songs of the successful hunter were chanted, led by his father or his uncle. Those songs "were like prayers." An old experienced man measured the whale and made the first cut. After the hump or saddle had been cut off and taken to the house, it was set upon a rack and decorated with feathers, as described by Swan (see above p. 45). For several days there were gatherings, and numerous ceremonial performances. The old whalers sat facing the decorated "saddle-piece" and each man sang his own whaling song. (Curtis, Vol. 11, p. 40). The successful hunter often entertained the people by a performance, showing his "power." A helper, with a rattle in the form of a bird, would begin to rattle and sing the whaling songs belonging to his chief. The latter would enter, dressed in ceremonial costume. My informant has seen a man dance completely clothed in nettles, tied on. The performer in such ceremonies makes his entry in time to the music, and dances around the fire in a contra-clockwise direction. His movements imitate those of the whale, and he heaves his way slowly around the fire, "blowing" from time to time. He never stands upright until the circuit is completed.

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No religious regard was ever paid to the bones, which were left on the beach. Evidently the courtesies extended to the taboo-piece or saddle, fulfilled all the necessities. The skeleton of the whale lay at low water mark, and was slowly cleaned by water-worms and sand-fleas. The whale, nevertheless, was supposed theoretically to be a guest of the village, and to have appeared upon the scene of his own volition.

METHODS OF NAVIGATION

As already remarked, whaling expeditions often go clear out to sea, out of sight of land. On the high seas at night, the Makah steer by the Pole-star. They never get lost, even in a fog, for they are helped by the swells and the wind. In this part of the Pacific the heave runs pretty consistently west and east. They know by experience also that thick weather comes on when the wind is from the southeast. So if the weather is thick, they conclude that the wind is from that quarter. Clear weather, on the other hand, is usually accompanied by winds from the west. By considering all of these matters, the whalers always manage to get back "somehow."

Some of the older men, who have spent a lifetime on the halibut banks, can locate themselves even when out of sight of land by the appearance of the water and the set of the "tide rips."

The following expressions are used by the Makah canoeman as terms of direction while on the water

To the left or "port", tcΔba'tsp (cf. ka'tspa,=left).
To the right or "starboard", tcΔba'tsa'k (cf. katsaksp,=right).
Ahead, hitΔ'kwΔd-dItsp (cf. hitΔ'kwΔd, the bow space).
Astern, tL'I'tca'tsp (cf. tL'i'tca, the stern space).
The term iyexΔxs is used in the sense of "here" or "there," applying only to positions inside of a boat. On land, other terms are employed.

HISTORY OF THE WHALING INDUSTRY

I suppose it would be impossible to discover which of the various coast tribes originated the hunting of the whale. It is certain, however, that it sprang up somewhere along the west coast of Vancouver Island. Probably the Nootka and Clayoquot had as much to do as anybody with developing the industry. The art is not found on the *east* coast of Vancouver Island, nor does it exist among the tribes of Alaska, as the Haida or Tlingit. Whaling is practiced by the Quilliute and Quinault, south of Cape Flattery, but the practice is unknown beyond their territory. Whales are spoken of in the accounts of the tribes living all along the coast of Oregon and Washington, and whale products of various sorts are utilized, as they are also in Alaska, but the tribes who actively pursue the big cetaceans are those in the vicinity of Capt Flattery and Vancouver Island. The Makah, who live near the southern frontier of the region where whaling is practiced, would hardly be looked upon (in the absence of positive proof) as the originators of the practice. All sources agree, however, that they long ago attained first rate skill at it.

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About 1860 the Makah temporarily left off whaling. The reason was the enormous profits to be derived at that time from pelagic sealing, at which pursuit also they were highly skillful, and highly successful. About the year 1890 they resumed their whaling practices, largely because by that time the Government protection of the fur seal had reduced the profits of sealing. Many of the Makah tribe attained distinct success as seal poachers, until the Federal Government's increasingly strict supervision of the animals made poaching impractical. Whaling is still carried on at the present time, largely with their old tribal apparatus.

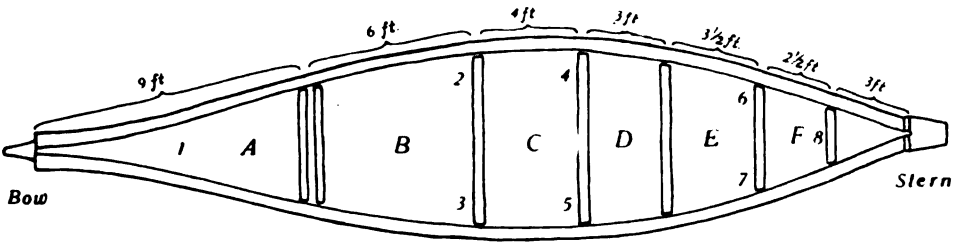

Fig. 14.—Diagram showing the arrangement of the huntsmen and their equipment in the whaling canoe. (Based in part on information contained in Curtis, vol. 11, pp. 36, 37, 184). For the native terminology for the thwarts and other parts see figure 3, and uage No. 50, above.

A. Bow-space, hitΔ'kwΔd, occupied by the harpooner with his weapon and four fathoms of sinew line.
1. Position of the harpooner.
B. Second space, kaqai'yuwΔxs, laden with 14 floats.
2. Position of the float tender.
3. Position of the diver.
C. Third space, tcɛLΔkduwΔxs, laden with cedar line, in sections.
4. Position of the harpoon-line tender (chikowihlhasi, in Curtis notation).
5. Position of the float-inflator.
D. Fourth cargo-space. Here the bailing is attended to.
E. Fifth cargo space, hitΔ'ksɩstΔxs (=inside) laden with water-boxes and provisions.
6. Position of the watcher.
7. Position of .....
F. Sixth cargo space, tL'i'tca (=stern).
8. Position of the steersman.

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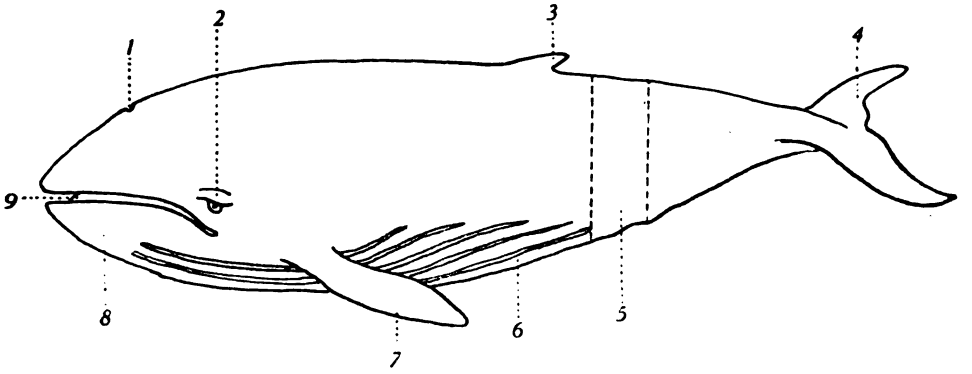

Fig. 15.—Diagram showing the cutting-up of the whale.

1. Blow-hole.
2. Eye, kali'i.
3. Hump, or saddle, yub--'Δtsk (=taboo piece).
4. Flukes, tLι'ι'ctcid (=feet).
5. Strip extending around the carcass, xΔtsΔ'qΔbιtL.
6. Creases, tsa·bΔ'kΔk (=strips).
7. Flipper, lulΔ'pι (=hand).
9. Tongue, lΔ'k·aiyυk.

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ILLUSTRATIONS

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Explanation of Plate 1.

a. Shaping the hull of the canoe. The typical adze used in such work is seen in the carpenter's hand. A stone maul is close at hand on the bow of the boat. The canoe, cut away as it is at bow and stern, is a very heavy-looking hulk until the additional bow-and-stern-pieces are in place.

b. Fitting the bow-piece on the hull. The bow-piece in a partly-finished state, is being hewn to fit a scarf previously cut in the hull.

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MAKING A "CHINOOK" CANOE.

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Explanation of Plate 2.

a. The canoe is beached stern-foremost, as is the invariable rule. The scarf which holds the stern-piece on the boat is visible, patched in one place with a piece of tin. The "gunwale strips" can also be plainly seen. One thwart has been broken down, and the "mast-holders" have been replaced by a sawn plank, with an auger-hole in it. Inflated buoys may be seen, and the old whaler is holding a fine harpoon-shaft.

b. This photograph shows a canoe with the old fashioned square rigging, the various halyards being plainly visible. The sail, however, is of canvas instead of matting.

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"LIGHT-HOUSE JOE" WITH HIS HARPOON AND BUOYS.
A CANOE UNDER SAIL.

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Explanation of Plate 3.

a. View of Cape Flattery looking north. The isolated crag in the sea has a recess near its summit. This crevice is about 40 feet from the top, and the size of the crag may be further estimated by comparing it with the growth of timber on the nearby cliff. A spar lay in this recess for a great many years (See page 30 above). Flattery Light may be seen in the distance.
Light may be seen in the distance.

b. This photograph shows the same crag as the previous one, but the view is taken toward the south. In the cliff to the left are the sea-caves which were the scene of the sealing exploit mentioned on page 36.

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ALONG THE MAKAH COAST

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Explanations of Plate 4.

a. The whale in this photograph has "drowned" and has sunk out of sight. His position is marked by the group of floats in the background.

b. Here the whale has been towed to the beach at Neah Bay. At low tide the people will be able to gather around the stranded carcass, to remove the blubber.

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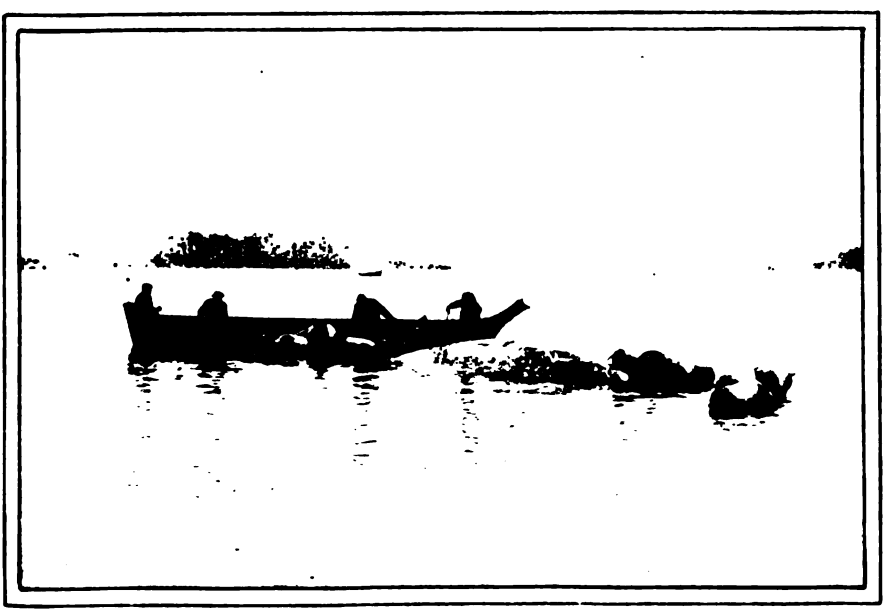

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THE HARPOONED WHALE

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Explanation of Plate 5.

a. Basket in which harpoon-heads are carried.

b. An old Makah is here seen peeling the skin from a whale. As remarked in the text, and as may be seen here, this skin is very thin, and quite the opposite from the hide one would look for on such a tremendous carcass. The harpoon-heads and the buoys attached to them have not yet been cut out of the tissue into which they were driven in killing the animal.

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Photograph by F. S. Hall
Photograph by Asahel Curtis

Removing the skin from a whale-carcass; basket for harpoon heads.

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Explanation of Plate [illegible]

[illegible] are being removed from the stranded whale. Slabs are cut with [illegible] or "butu'k," and stripped off by pulling on a line, attached to a [illegible] at the top of the slab.

[illegible] famous whalers, Antone Wispu, on the reader's left; David Fischer, or Q[illegible]tAp; and Charley White, called TLaxwat'u, or "Paddler." Charley White is carrying a "cut" of blubber by a hand-hold.

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CUTTING UP THE WHALE

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Explanation of Plate 7.

a. The bones of the whale are largely stripped bare of the blubber, several cuts of which are visible in the foreground.

b. The flesh of the animal may here be seen, in the middle part of the carcass, the blubber having been stripped off. In the foreground lies a float, and at the right, one of the great flukes of the tail.

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THE LAST OF THE WHALE

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Explanation of Plate 8.

a. Sheath for the protection of the harpoon-head (see page 32). The sheath consists of a folded strip of cedar-bark. The two ends of this strip are split into narrow fibres, and these fibres are worked over with separate fibres of bark in plain twining. University of Washington, State Museum, Catalogue number 105. Length from point of barb to point of blade, 6⅞ inches, 17.5 cm.

b. The complete harpoon-head. The sinew lanyard, the bone barb, the blade (in this specimen, a piece of saw-steel) and the final coating of spruce gum, are all plainly shown. University of Washington, State Museum, Catalog number 105.

c. Sketch showing the details of the above lashing, as far as they are visible in the completed specimen.

d. Enlarged view of a whaling head photographed without the blade, and the covering of resin; showing the ingenious manner in which the strands of the sinew lanyard are wrapped and served around the bone framework. University of Washington, Catalog number 85.

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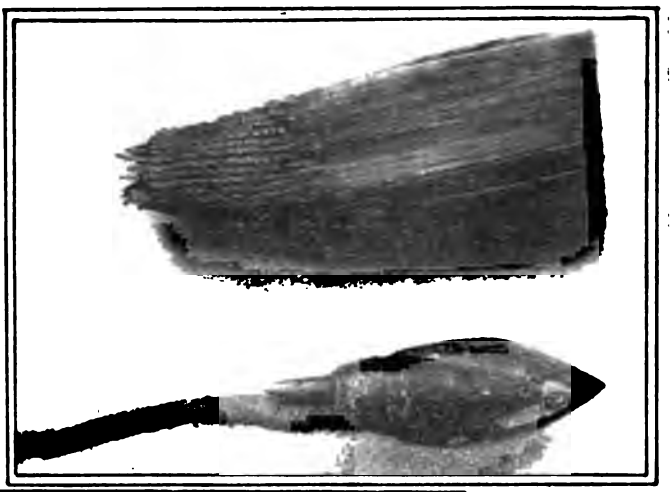

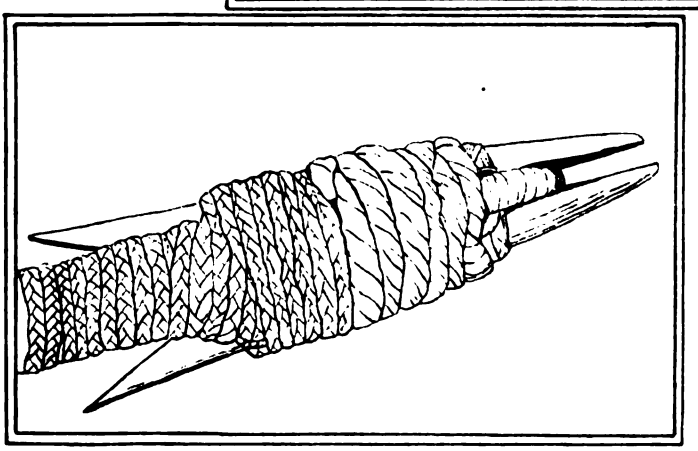

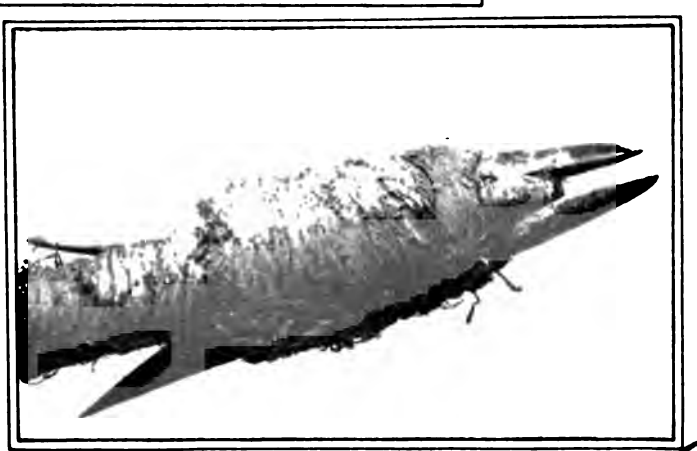

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HEAD FOR THE WHALING HARPOON

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THE DISTRIBUTION OF KINSHIP SYSTEMS IN NORTH AMERICA

By

LESLIE SPIER

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THE DISTRIBUTION OF KINSHIP SYSTEMS IN NORTH AMERICA

This paper presents a classification of kinship systems in North America and their distribution. Historical, sociological, or psychological interpretations can hardly be undertaken without such a basis.

The material has been available for some years. Lewis H. Morgan published sufficient to cover the region east of the Rockies in his *Systems of Consanguinity and Affinity of the Human Family* some fifty years ago. But his unfortunate manner of presentation rather prejudiced reworking the data. Many systems from elsewhere on the continent have been accumulated since, largely due, I believe to the impetus given their investigation by Robert H. Lowie. Data for part of the Pacific area were brought together by A. L. Kroeber in *California Kinship Systems* and later subjected to more intensive analysis by Edward W. Gifford in *Californian Kinship Terminologies.* With the exception of Lowie's *Sociological and Historical Interpretation of Kinship Terminologies,* no synthesis of continental scope has been attempted.

This study was begun in 1915 in an attempt to harmonize the Blackfoot data and to compare their systems with those of neighboring tribes.[1] Through the generosity of William T. Davis of New York and an anonymous friend I was then given the opportunity to classify the material from eastern North America. It has been possible to complete the task under a Fellowship in the Biological Sciences of the National Research Council in 1923-24.

The data are largely drawn from Morgan's tables. The Californian data are from Gifford's work, taken directly from his maps in most instances. I am especially indebted to R. H. Lowie for a large series of systems in manuscript, which he has placed unreservedly at my disposal, and to those who aided him in forming it. Thanks are due Alanson B. Skinner for unpublished Potawatomi and Bungi manuscripts, Pliny E. Goddard for Sarsi, Eugene A. Golomshtok for Atsugewi, and Erna Gunther for Makah, Wasco, and Salish material from Washington. Other sources are cited in the bibliography. I have made no attempt at harmonizing conflicting data. This requires linguistic specialization and further information. In most cases the several alternatives are entered on the maps, but I have been quite free in arbitrarily selecting the most harmonious data.

This is strictly an empirical classification. Beginning with the east, it was obvious that essentially the same systems were in use among tribes occupying large continuous areas. I have therefore taken a group of similar systems, determined the most frequent mode of classifying each relative, and described that as the norm. This is more difficult for the western tribes where the systems are more complex and where such features as verbal reciprocity are more frequently common to many groups which are in other respects unlike. A number of systems, such as the Navaho and Alsea, were classified with diffi-

[1] Spier, *Blackfoot Relationship Terms.*

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culty. So far as the data goes—and it is as likely as not to be incorrect—they belong as much in one class as another. It seems preferable to suggest their affiliations by classifying them somewhat arbitrarily to establishing a large number of categories. No two systems are identical; a class is merely a group of systems more alike than they are individually like any other class.

To avoid misunderstanding, I wish it to be clear that I am not now asserting any historical connection between the systems of one class. The Wiyot of northern California, for example, have a system which is closer to that of the Eskimo than to that of any of their neighbors. That is, they call all cousins of the speaker's generation by the same term, which is not sibling, as the Eskimo do. Their neighbors, Whilkut, Hupa, and Karok, share a system which classes these cousins with the siblings, although in other respects it resembles that of the Wiyot. Since I have separated Eskimo from Loucheux and Hare on this basis, I have no choice but to separate Wiyot from Hupa and to class it with Eskimo. But this does not mean that the Wiyot system is historically related to that of the Eskimo. The case is different where the several Eskimo groups are concerned. Here there is not only general similarity of systems, but as the terms are phonetically analogous, the genetic connection is unavoidable. Each of such cases will have to be argued on its merits: this study does not attempt it.

The most convenient basis for discrimination, at least in the east, is according to the method of classifying cross cousins. As a rule the systems are in other respects quite similar: the paternal and maternal siblings are separated, a corresponding distinction is drawn between sororal and fraternal nephews and nieces, and parallel cousins are classed with siblings. The Mackenzie Basin tribes, the Iroquois, and the Eskimo differ however in their terminology for cross cousins. They are also called siblings by the Mackenzie tribes: the Iroquois use special cousin terms for them, while the Eskimo class all cousins, parallel and cross, together and apart from siblings.

The Yuman system is generically that of the Mackenzie tribes and the Iroquois, but differs in its development of age distinctions. These are consistently drawn among the parents' siblings, parallel and cross cousins, and nephews and nieces. The classification is based on the relative ages of the connecting relations.

Cross cousin terminology also offers a clue for the discrimination of the Omaha and Crow types. The first class together the mother's brother and his descendants through males: their daughters are always called mothers. The paternal cross cousins are then conceptual equivalents. Similarly systems of the Crow type class the father's sister with her female descendants through females and their sons with the father. Again, equivalent forms are used for the maternal cross cousins. That is, both systems ignore differences of generation in one or the other type of unilateral descent.

In all of the preceding, paternal and maternal affiliation is taken into account, at least in the parent and child generations. But among the Salish this is not the case: relatives through males and females are merged, the basis

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being essentially generation alone. This results in a system which operates with a minimum of terms.

I am not sure that there is justification for placing the Acoma and some of their neighbors in a separate category. Parents' sisters are merged, and this is sometimes true of their brothers. This may represent a transformation in the direction of Spanish and English terminology among these Rio Grande peoples. For the rest, they have a considerable development of verbal reciprocity and a unique way of classifying grandparents and grandchildren.

The differences between these classes are not of the same order. The Mackenzie type, the Iroquois, and the Eskimo are much alike: the Yuman type only less like them with its additional age distinctions. The first two might be merged in a single class. Omaha and Crow types are alike in their unilinear groupings, but in other respects they resemble the four just named, that is in the separation of avuncular and nepotic relatives as they are on the male or female side. The Salish type is the most distinct in that it merges these relatives. As this is an empirical classification, the distinctions between the classes are not given as fundamental but descriptive.

I. OMAHA TYPE

In this system the mother's brother is an "uncle" and his male descendants through males are "uncles." The daughters of these "uncles" are "mothers," whose children are "brothers" and "sisters." The father's sister is an "aunt," her children being "sister's son and daughter" if the speaker is a male, and "son" and "daughter" if female. Their children are "grandchildren."

Ponca (125), Omaha (126), Iowa (132), Oto (133), Kansas (134), Osage (137), Quapaw? (139), Missouri? (138), Winnebago (130), Menomini (129), Sauk-Fox (131), Peoria (146), Kaskaskia (145), Piankashaw (149), Miami (167), Wea (147), Kickapoo (148), Shawnee (168).[2]

In the California systems of this type the "uncle's" daughters are "mother's sisters" (as among the first seven tribes listed below), or "mother's younger sisters."

Northern Wintun (16a), Central Wintun (16b), Southeastern Wintun (16c), Southwestern Wintun (16d), Coast Miwok (18a), Tachi (20b), Gashowu (20d), Northern Pomo (10a), Central Pomo (10b), Eastern Pomo (10c), Southeastern Pomo (10d), Lake Miwok (18b), Plains Miwok (18c), Northern Miwok (18d), Central Miwok (18e), Southern Miwok (18f), Chukchansi (20c).

II. CROW TYPE

In this system the father's sister is an "aunt" and her female descendants through females are "aunts." The sons of these "aunts" are "fathers," whose children are "brothers" (or "fathers") and "sisters." The mother's brother is an "uncle," whose children are "son" and "daughter" (less commonly for a

[2] Numbers in parentheses refer to maps at the end of the paper.

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female speaker) and their children "grandchildren." The children of a man's brother and a woman's sister are "son" and "daughter": the children of their other siblings are usually called by nepotic terms.

Crow (109), Hidatsa (112), Mandan (113), Grand Pawnee (122), Republican Pawnee (123), Skidi Pawnee (124), Chickasaw (172), Choctaw (173), Creek (174), Cherokee (170), Mountain Cherokee, Hopi (93), Hano (94), Jemez (99), Laguna (97), Southern Pomo (10f), Wappo (4d), Tlingit (34), Haida (35); possibly Isleta (105), Timucua (177), and less probably Yuchi (175).

Among some of these groups the father's sister is "grandmother": Chickasaw, Creek, Yuchi, and possibly Choctaw, Timucua, and Laguna. The oldest of the father's sisters is "grandmother" for the Hopi. The Pawnee groups call the father's sister "mother."

III. SALISH TYPE

This is characterized by the merging of father's and mother's siblings: that is, there is only one term for "aunt" and one for "uncle." Conversely there is but one term for nephew or niece. There are terms for "grandparent," "child," and "grandchild." Brothers and sisters are usually distinguished as "older sibling" and "younger sibling." Sibling terms are applied to both parallel and cross cousins.

Siciatl (44), Squamish (46), Songish (51), Bella Coola (40), Lillooet (49), Shuswap (59), Snuqualmi (56), Duwamish (57), Nisqualli (58), Klallam (54), Quileut (53), Makah (52), Nootka (42), Kwakiutl (41), Tinneh (24), Yurok (2a): possibly Spokan (163). Possibly Alsea (72), Yakima (67), Kaibab (89), and Tewa (100) should be included here although I have classed them primarily elsewhere.

Two terms, "grandfather" and "grandmother," are used by the Nisqualli, Snuqualmi, Shuswap, Lillooet, Bella Coola, and Yurok.

IV. ACOMA TYPE

This differs from the preceding largely in the use of three grandparental terms, and the verbal reciprocity between grandparents and grandchildren and between avuncular and nepotic relatives. The grandparental terms are man's grandfather, woman's grandmother, and grandparent of the opposite sex. The corresponding grandchild terms are man's grandson, woman's granddaughter, and grandchild of the opposite sex. Parents' sisters are called "aunt." Mother's brother is usually a separate term: father's brother is "father" or "mother's brother," or he is called by a special term. Reciprocally a man's sister's child is "mother's brother," his brother's children are "son and daughter," "uncle," or "father's brother"; a woman's sibling's children are "aunts." Commonly three sibling terms are used, man's brother, woman's sister, and sibling of the opposite sex. Parallel and cross cousins are alike called siblings or by the same special terms.

Kaibab (89), Acoma (96), Cochiti (98), San Felipe (103), Santo Domingo

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(102), Tewa (San Ildefonso, Santa Clara, San Juan, Nambé) (100), Kiowa (135), Kutenai (60).

Kaibab, Tewa, and Kiowa use terms for grandfather and grandmother: the same terms are used reciprocally for a man's grandchild and a woman's grandchild, except by the Kiowa. The Kutenai have a term for a woman's grandmother, all other grandparents coming under one caption, reciprocally these terms are used respectively for a woman's granddaughter and for all other grandchildren.

Father's brother and mother's brother are included in the same term by Kaibab, Tewa and Cochiti (the last call a woman's uncle "brother"). Reciprocally a man's brother's children are "uncles," again excepting Cochiti.

An aunt is called "mother" by Acoma, San Felipe and Santo Domingo: conversely the Acoma, for whom alone there are data, call a woman's siblings' children "son and daughter."

Separate terms for man's father and woman's father are in use among Kutenai, Cochiti, Santo Domingo, and San Felipe: the last has also separate terms for mother.

Special terms are used alike for parallel and cross cousins by Kutenai, Kaibab, Tewa, and Santo Domingo. The Tewa call a female cousin "father's sister," which suggests the Crow type of system.

V. YUMAN TYPE

The distinguishing feature here is the unusual development of age distinctions. Father's older brothers and mother's older sisters are distinguished from their younger siblings. Parallel cousins are older or younger siblings, not according to their ages relative to that of the speaker, but according to those of their parents. Similarly the children of a man's brother and a woman's sister are distinguished according to the relative ages of their parents. There are four terms for sibling; older brother, older sister, younger brother, and younger sister. Parallel cousins are siblings: cross cousins are called by special terms, or less frequently styled siblings. Children of a man are son and daughter: a woman's children are more frequently called by one term. Four grandparental terms are used; father's father, father's mother, mother's father, mother's mother, and conversely four grandchild terms, man's son's child, man's daughter's child, woman's son's child, and woman's daughter's child.

Cocopa (106), Yuma (15d), Mohave (15f), Havasupai (90), Kamia (15c), Southern Diegueño (15b), Northern Diegueño (15a), Desert Cahuilla (21t), Cupeño (21q), Luiseño (21p), Serrano (21k), Kitanemuk (21h), Kawaiisu (21f), Tübatulabel (21g), Southwestern Pomo (10g), Wind River Shoshoni (110), Uintah Ute (85), Southern Ute (91), Papago (107), Northern Tepehuane (108): possibly Biloxi (176). Wappo (4d), Southern Pomo (10f), and even Northern Wintun (16a) might be included here, but I have preferred to class the first two with the Crow and the third with the Omaha because of their classification of the father's sister's female descendants and mother's brother's male descendants respectively.

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Other age distinctions are made. Older and younger mother's brother are recognized by the Uintah Ute, Southern Ute, Papago, Northern Tepehuane, and Biloxi, with comparable distinctions made among a man's sororal nephews and nieces depending on the age of his sisters. The Papago, Northern Tepehuane, and Biloxi also discriminate between father's older and younger sister, and again a woman distinguishes her older and younger brother's children. The Papago make distinctions among cross cousins as well as parallel cousins according to the age of the parents. Nepotic terms are verbally reciprocal for Uintah and Southern Ute, almost wholly so for Northern Tepehuane, and in part for Wind River, Havasupai, Papago, Serrano, and Luiseño.

Two terms, older and younger sibling, are used by Havasupai, Papago, and Northern Tepehuane. Yuma and Mohave use older sibling, younger brother, and younger sister: Tübatulabel and Kitanemuk use older brother, older sister, and younger sibling.

Cross cousins are siblings for Tübatulabal, Kawaiisu, Uintah and Southern Ute, Wind River, Papago, and in part for Mohave.

A woman's children are called son and daughter by Uintah and Southern Ute, Wind River, Kawaiisu, Luiseño, and by Serrano and Desert Cahuilla who distinguish man's and woman's daughters. Tübatulabal and Kitanemuk call a man's children child: Papago and Northern Tepehuane do the same but the term is different from that employed by a woman. Man's father and woman's father are separate terms among Mohave, Yuma and Cocopa; while Northern and Southern Diegueño have two terms which may be applied to either relative.

Grandparental terms are father's parent, mother's father, and mother's mother for Serrano, Luiseño, Cupeño, and Desert Cahuilla, and conversely grandchildren are son's child, man's daughter's child, and woman's daughter's child. These terms are all verbally reciprocal. So are those of the Kawaiisu, Tübatulabal, Wind River, Uintah and Southern Ute, and in part Papago and Northern Tepehuane, all of whom have the regular four grandparent-grandchild terms. Grandchildren are classed as son's child and daughter's child by all the Yumans, except the Mohave, and the Biloxi.

VI. MACKENZIE BASIN TYPE

The characteristic feature here is that all cousins, parallel and cross, are siblings. Four terms are ordinarily employed for these, older brother, older sister, younger brother, and younger sister. Parents are father and mother: children are son and daughter. Parents' siblings are usually father's brother, father's sister, mother's sister, and mother's brother. Nepotic relatives are commonly called by special terms. Grandparents are grandfather and grandmother: grandchildren are called by one term.

Loucheux (25), Tukuthe (26), Yellow Knife (32), Slavey (33), Sarsi (75), Wasco (70), Gros Ventre (78), Arapaho (121), Caddo (140), Shivwits

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(88), Montagnais (158), Two Mountain Iroquois (157), Munsi (165), and probably Piegan (77) and Micmac (161).

The majority of the Californian and other western tribes that have this system have four terms for grandparents, father's father, father's mother, mother's mother, and mother's father. These are used reciprocally, with but few exceptions, for a man's son's child, a woman's son's child, a woman's daughter's child, and a man's daughter's child respectively.

Hupa (1c), Whilkut (1e), Yuki (4a), Huchnom (4b), Coast Yuki (4c), Lutuami (5), Achomawi (6e), Atsugewi (6f), Washo (11), Southern Maidu (17c), Northern Pauite (21a), Eastern Mono (21b), Western Mono (21c), Moapa (87), Paviotso (84), Wishram (69), Chinook (71).

Other western tribes with this system in its essentials are Paleuyami (20f), Yaudanchi (20e), Yauelmani (20b), Karok (8), Zuñi (95), Kalispel (64), and Wichita (136).

There is some possibility that Moapa, Chinook, Piegan, and Micmac make use of special cousin terms.

Father's brother is called father by Zuñi, Eastern and Western Mono, Loucheux, Gros Arapaho, Two Mountain Iroquois, and older or younger father by Wichita and Caddo. Mother's sister is mother for the same groups (except the Eastern Mono) and also for the Sarsi. Again Caddo and Wichita call this relative mother but distinguish older and younger individuals. Other age distinctions among the parents' siblings are made by the Zuñi in their alternative terms for mother's sister and by the Yuki and Huchnom for the same relative, for mother's brother, and for father's sister.

Two modes of classifying nepotic relatives stand out. A man's brother's children and a woman's sister's children are called son and daughter, child, or step-son and-daughter by Munsi, Micmac, Two Mountain Iroquois, Gros Ventre, Arapaho, Piegan (?), Caddo, Wichita, Zuñi, Pauelmani, Yaudanchi, Yellow Knife, Slavey, and Loucheux. Four terms, man's brother's child, man's sister's child, woman's brother's child, and woman's sister's child, are used by most of the Californians, viz., Yuki, Huchnom, Lutuami, Achomawi, Karok, Washo, Southern Maidu, Northern Paiute, Eastern Mono, and Western Mono.

Relative age of the connecting parent enters into the classification of cousins by the Coast Yuki and possibly of nepotic relatives by the Piegan and Tukuthe. These features suggest the Yuman system.

VII. IROQUOIS TYPE

Except that there are special terms for cross cousins, this system is like the last. Parallel cousins are siblings, or in the cases where cousin terms are used these are not the same as the cross cousin terms. Four terms are most common for siblings, older brother, older sister, younger brother, and younger sister. There are separate terms for father, mother, son, and daughter. Parents' siblings are usually father's brother, father's sister, mother's brother, and mother's sister. A man's brother's children and a woman's sister's children are usually "children," with the other nepotic relatives called by two terms, nephew

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and niece. Grandfather and grandmother are used for grandparents, with one term for grandchild.

Seneca (152), Cayuga (153), Onondaga (154), Oneida (155), Mohawk (156), Wyandot (151), Tuscarora (169), Malecite (160), Ottawa (143), Swampy Cree (83), Wood Cree (82), Plains Cree (79), Ojibway of Lake Superior (141), Lake Michigan (142), Lake Huron (143), and Kansas, Potawatomi (178), Bungi (81), Santee (127), Sisseton (128), Yanktonai (118), Yankton (119), Oglalla (116), Brulé (117), Uncpapa (114), Blackfoot Dakota (115), Assiniboin (80), Blood (76), Alsea (72), Yakima (67), Carrier (38), Tsimshian (37), Nass (36), Hare (27), Tolowa (1b), Lassik (1h), Wailaki (1j), Kato (1k), Shasta (6a), Northern Yana (7a), Yahi (7d), Northeastern Maidu (17a), Northwestern Maidu (17b), Navaho (92): possibly Natick (163) and Central Yana (7b).

Cousin terms are in use by the Carrier for the mother's sister's children, by the Navaho for the father's brother's children, and by the Ottawa and the Ojibway groups (except Lake Superior) for a man's parallel cousins and in part for a woman's parallel cousins.

The Oglalla have eight sibling terms, the sex of the speaker entering into the normal categories of older and younger brother and sister. All the other Siouan tribes have a similar usage, but with a common term for a man's and woman's younger brother, seven terms in all, except the Yanktonai who do not distinguish age among a woman's sisters. Nass and Tsimshian have three terms, man's brother, woman's sister, and sibling of the opposite sex. Shasta, Yahi, Malecite, and Bungi have individual ways of classfying these relatives.

One term for child is used by Nass, Tsimshian, Yakima (?), Northwestern Maidu, and Tuscarora.

The father's brother is called father and the mother's sister mother by a large number of these tribes: Yahi, Nass, Tsimshian (?), Navaho (?), Hare, Assiniboin, all of the Dakota groups, and all of the Iroquoian groups, except that mother's sister is recorded as father for the Mohawk. Father's sister is called mother by the Cayuga, Onondaga, Oneida, and Mohawk. The Blood likewise use a single term for aunt. Kato, Wailaki, Lassik, and Tolowa call father's sister older sister.

All of a woman's nephews and nieces are called children by Malecite (?), Seneca, Cayuga, Onondaga, Oneida, and Mohawk. The Hare call all nephews and nieces children. Special nepotic terms are used throughout by the Alsea, all the Californians (except the Yahi), but only in part by the Lassik, and possibly by the Navaho. The Carrier call a brother's children younger brother and younger sister.

Four grandparental terms, father's father, father's mother, mother's father, and mother's mother, are used by all the Californian tribes. These terms are used reciprocally for grandchildren by Shasta, Northwestern Maidu of the plains, and Yahi. Tolowa and Northeastern Maidu distinguish only son's child and daughter's child; Northwestern Maidu of the mountains a man's son's child, a woman's son's child, and daughter's child. For both Maidu groups the

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usage is in part verbally reciprocal. Lassik, Wailaki, and Kato class them as son's child, man's daughter's child, and woman's daughter's child. The Navaho have terms for father's parent, mother's father, and mother's mother: they may use the first reciprocally for son's child. The Alsea have but a single term for grandparent. The Oglalla may have separate terms for father's mother and mother's mother. All of the Iroquois proper, Wyandot, Hare, and possibly Oglalla, distinguish grandsons from grandaughters.

VIII. ESKIMO TYPE

This system differs from the preceding in that cross cousins and parallel cousins are called by the same cousin terms. There are four terms for parents' siblings. Nepotic terms are usually man's brother's child, man's sister's child, woman's sister's child, with woman's brother's children termed variously. Two terms for grandparents are used, "grandfather" and "grandmother," with one term for grandchild.

Alaskan Eskimo (22), Copper Eskimo (28), Eskimo of Northumberland Island[3] (29) and Cumberland Inlet (30), Greenland Eskimo (31): possibly Wiyot (3), Delaware (166), and less probably Mohegan (164), Abenaki (159), Penobscot (162), and Natick (163).

Siblings are usually differentiated according to relative age. The Alaskan Eskimo resemble the Chukchi and Koryak in their tripartite division, older, younger, and youngest brother and sister.[4]

Copper and Greenland Eskimo women alike call their brother's child by the term for mother's brother.

[3] So I interpret Morgan's Northumberland Inlet.
[4] Lowie, *Historical and Sociological Interpretations of Kinship Terminologies*, 294.

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COMPARISON WITH EARLIER CLASSIFICATIONS

Resemblances between these systems have been pointed out in earlier papers, but for the most part, attention was drawn only to peculiar modes of classifying certain relatives.

Morgan's *Systems* contains many references to just those resemblances between the systems east of the Rockies which form the basis of classification in the present paper. He recognizes in the cross cousin nomenclature an important means of discriminating among them. He remarks on the identity of the Iroquois, Dakota, Assiniboin, Ojibwa, Ottawa, Potawatomi, and Cree, but includes Mohegan with them.[5] The Southern Siouans, Winnebago, and western Central Algonkin form a group and are distinct from the Iroquois and Dakota. The Crow and Hidatsa are coupled with the Gulf nations and the Pawnee, and a resemblance of Laguna to this group is suggested.[6] Blackfoot is more like the Great Lakes Nations than the western Central Algonkins. Yellow Knife is like Hare. Delaware is recognized as a divergent type, but Munsi is nearest Delaware. The Greenland and Northumberland Island Eskimo are alike, and markedly different from the systems to the south. Spokan and Yakima are unlike the eastern groups, and resemble the Tabegwaches in the use of verbally reciprocal terms.[7]

On the whole this is in essential agreement with my classification. Morgan believes however that these resemblances are indices of biological relationship. Seneca is the typical system: the differences which occur in other systems show in what order they have diverged from the parent stock. He is more impressed with the merging of lineal and collateral relatives in the systems throughout the whole area than with resemblances of lesser range. Accordingly he is satisfied with establishing by this evidence that all the groups, excluding the Eskimo, belong to one biologic group, the "Ganowánian."[8]

Lowie recognizes much the same groups. The Southern Siouans are grouped with some Central Algonkins: the Ojibwa, Cree, Wyandot, and Iroquois with the Dakota.[9] The similarity of cross cousin terminology among the Crow, Hidatsa, Hano, Hopi, Tlingit, Muskogeans, and Pawnee is pointed out. Another group exists in which paternal and maternal lines of descent are merged: Eskimo, Nootka, Quileute, Chinook, various Salish tribes, Kutenai, the Plateau Shoshoneans, and the tribes in a large section of California north and east of the Miwok. This is my Salish group with the important additions.[10]

Kroeber classifies the Californian tribes on the basis of twelve available

[5] *Systems*, 166, 176, 204, 205, 222.
[6] Loc. cit., 178, 179, 210-217, 188, 191, 198, 262.
[7] Loc. cit., 226, 237, 221, 277, 245-252.
[8] Loc. cit., 176, 192.
[9] This is not wholly independent corroboration for Lowie based his observations partly on the data assembled for the present paper.
[10] *Historical and Sociological Interpretations*, 296; *Kinship Systems of the Crow and Hidatsa*, 341; *Culture and Ethnology*, 124. 153, 167.

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systems. These fall into three groups. Mohave and Luiseño are similar and show connections with the Southwest. Yurok is unique among Californian systems but bears resemblances to the Coast Salish and tribes of the eastern United States. This agrees with my assignment of the first two to the Yuman and the third to the Salish group. For the rest, Yaudanchi, Northern Paiute, Washo, Tubatülabal, Kawaiisu, and probably Yuki constitute a generic type distributed peripherally to Eastern Pomo, Central Miwok, and Southeastern Wintun. The latter have specialized inasmuch as their systems are simplified. This also corresponds to the present classification: these Pomo, Miwok, and Wintun systems are included in the Omaha type, the others are of the Mackenzie Basin type, except that I consider Tübatulabal and Kawaiisu similar to the Yuman systems.[11]

Gifford offers a general comparison of the Californian systems on the basis of the tripartite cultural division within the state. In such a form it is not altogether clear what relationship he sees between the northwestern systems, the southern, and those of central California. In the northwestern area Wiyot is noted as different from the Athabaskans, Yurok, and Karok. According to my scheme it is possibly to be classed with the Eskimo, the others being of Mackenzie and Iroquois type. Yurok is not recognized as exceptional. In southern California there is some difference between the Shoshonean and Yuman systems, the divergence increasing with remoteness from the Yuma. This does not contradict my inclusion of all southern Californian Shoshoneans with the Yuman tribes, but it does not directly confirm it.[12]

Two groups are recognized in central California; a Sacramento-San Joaquin valley core with a peripheral mountain group. This corresponds fairly well with the present classification, at least so far as the valley group is concerned. All the tribes in the valley group shown in Gifford's Map 24, with two exceptions, have systems of the Omaha type. These two, Southern Pomo and Wappo, might be classed with the Crow or Yuma.[13] Elsewhere Gifford has suggested the resemblance of the Central Miwok to the Omaha.[14]

The mountain tribes are seen as a less homogeneous group. Yet the similarity of Shasta, Northeastern, Northwestern, and Southern Maidu, Lutuami, and Achomawi is noted. In this I concur, but I have separated the first three from the others on the basis of their cross cousin nomenclature, classifying them as of Iroquoian and Mackenzie type respectively. Gifford has also calculated the degree of inter-relation within the whole central Californian area. If we take those systems having least resemblance, i.e. with less than fifty per cent of their categories in common, we have a series of systems which differ on the whole from the others. These are Achomawi, Lutuami, Coast Yuki, Kawaiisu, Tübatulabal, Southern Pomo, Wappo, Southern Miwok, and Central Pomo.

[11] *California Kinship Systems*, 378-382.
[12] *Californian Kinship Terminologies*, 199, 200.
[13] Loc. cit., 203.
[14] *Miwok Moieties*, 188.

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The first three belong to my Mackenzie Basin type; the others to the Crow, Yuma, and Omaha types.[15]

On the whole the present classification agrees with Gifford's in separating the southern Californians, the Wiyot, and the interior valley systems from those of the mountain tribes. I have gone further in classifying this remainder with the Salish, Iroquois, and Mackenzie Basin groups.

[15] *Californian Kinship Terminologies*, 202, 210.

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AN ANALYSIS OF PLAINS INDIAN PARFLECHE DECORATION

By

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PREFACE

Several years ago Dr. Robert H. Lowie pointed out that the parfleche decorations of the neighboring Crow and Shoshoni Indians had characteristic differences; in particular, that the shape of the rectangles enclosing the designs differed in the two cases. He also noted that these forms were different from those preferred by the subjects on whom the psychologists Fechner and Lalo experimented.[1] The problem implicit in these differences offers unusual attraction for the application jointly of psychological and cultural methods.

The problem is essentially one of determining the origin of particular elements in a local style of design. All parfleche decorations are historically related. In any particular case the peculiar combination of decorative elements, the shape of the rectangle, and so forth, are the result of the interplay of the innate preferences of the group, their preexisting design habits, and the novel parfleche decorations of foreign tribes with whom they come in contact. Analysis of the relative influence of each of these is, of course, open only for a series of approximations.

This paper is a first step, a determination of the style of each tribe sharing the art. It is hoped to publish later the material bearing directly on the problem suggested by Dr. Lowie.

This project was undertaken in 1923-24 while the author was Fellow in the Biological Sciences of the National Research Council, with the aid of a grant for field work from the University of Washington. I am under obligations to several museums for the privilege of using their collections.

[1] *A Note on Aesthetics* (American Anthropologist, n. s., 23, 1921, 170-174.

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AN ANALYSIS OF PLAINS INDIAN PARFLECHE DECORATION

PLAINS PARFLECHES

This section is devoted to a description of parfleche forms and decoration in the Plains as a whole with a view to determining similarities and historical relations between the art forms of the Plains tribes.

This has been done before by Kroeber, Wissler, and Lowie for many of the Plains tribes. But each had as his *point d'appui* the art of a particular tribe, with which he established similarities or differences among the others. A large subjective element enters into any study of this sort; one must pick out of a complex design for comparison those elements which seem significant. Obviously the predominant features of the art with which each started must have markedly influenced his analysis of the art of other tribes. In order to avoid this no one group was taken as a norm.

The series examined is also somewhat larger than that of my predecessors. It includes almost all specimens in the American Museum of Natural History (166), the United States National Museum (17), the Museum of Anthropology of the University of California (3), the Washington State Museum (3), and the Provincial Museum at Victoria (1), many in the Field Museum of Natural History (51), some in the Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation (2), and one specimen seen in the field: a total of 244. To these are added published illustrations of sixteen others. The principal difference is that Kroeber and Lowie did not have the Field Museum material, and Kroeber, at least, many of the American Museum specimens.[2]

There is some question as to the provenience of a few specimens, particularly the Yakima. "Yakima" may refer to Yakima proper or to others on the Yakima Reservation, such as the Klikitat. Farrand gives the location of specimens he obtained for the American Museum collections as "Yakima, but probably of Nez Percé manufacture." Here it is assumed that they were made by the Yakima.[2a] Kroeber undoubtedly refers to these and the Nez Percé specimens by the term Sahaptin. Spinden adds Umatilla in quoting his characterization, but, so far as I know, Kroeber had no Umatilla specimens.[3]

The Shoshoni material is that used by Dr. Kroeber, who states that it came from the Wind River and Fort Hall groups. Four of the specimens were collected by him at Wind River; two others by Mr. H. H. St. Clair, who so

[2] Additional material was derived from the following, as well as from the sources mentioned below: Franz Boas, *Decorative Art of the North American Indians* (Popular Science Monthly, 63, 1903, 481-498); A. L. Kroeber, *The Arapaho* (Bulletin, American Museum of Natural History, 18, 1902, 1-150); Robert H. Lowie, *The Northern Shoshone* (Anthropological Papers, American Museum Natural History, 2, 1909, pt. 2); *ibid., The Assiniboine* (same series, 4, 1909, pt. 1).

[2a] Since this paper went to press I have learned from a Wishram informant that no parfleches are made on the Yakima Reservation. Presumably Farrand is right, but the paper is too far along in its printing to make the changes involved.

[3] A. L. Kroeber, *Ethnology of the Gros Ventre* (Anthropological Papers, American Museum of Natural History, 1, 1908, pt. 4), 175; Herbert J. Spinden, *The Nez Percé Indians* (Memoirs, American Anthropological Association, II, 1908, pt. 3), 235.

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far as I know visited only Wind River. Two additional specimens are not localized. I have also included a Lemhi parfleche with these.

The Northern Ute is from the Uintah and Uncompahgre groups;[4] the Southern Ute from Ignacio, Colorado. The Paiute is that collected by Powell in southern Utah. The Cheyenne specimens are with one exception from the Oklahoma branch; the Arapaho probably from both northern and southern divisions.

DISTRIBUTION

Parfleches are found throughout the Plains and the region to the west and northwest. Those examined are from the following groups: Thompson, Okanagan, Yakima, Wishram[4a], Warm Springs Reservation, Nez Percé, Kutenai, Sarci, Blackfoot, Gros Ventre, Assiniboin, Hidatsa and Mandan, Crow, Bannock, Dakota, Lemhi and Wind River Shoshoni, Arapaho, Cheyenne, Northern and Southern Ute, Paiute, Kiowa, and Oto. They also occur among the Jicarilla, Mescalero, Umatilla[4b], and Kalispell. Undoubtedly they were to be found on the eastern border of the Plains as well.

There may be some doubt as to whether any were made by the peripheral tribes, such as the Thompson. Trading undoubtedly occurred: one Yakima specimen was obtained by Haeberlin among the Nisqualli; a Warm Springs specimen was found among the Klamath.[5] It is assumed here that the parfleche was made by the tribe from which it was obtained, unless the record specified otherwise.

GENERAL CHARACTER

Decoration consists in simple geometric figures, principally triangles, lozenges, rectangles, straight lines and dots in various combinations. The technique is painting or incising. Painting is general: incised decoration appears on two specimens from Warm Springs[6] and one from the Nez Percé. Mr. Linton informs me that it also occurs on Eastern Sioux specimens and on two identical Blackfoot pieces in the Field Museum. In the same institution there are two such Crow parfleches.[7] Wissler notes a Dakota tradition that the first parfleches were not painted, but decorated by scraping away portions of the pigmented layer of the skin leaving areas of lighter or darker shades.[8]

The designs are fairly well executed on the whole: they are symmetrical and the lines are smooth and of uniform width. Carelessness in execution is

[4] Kroeber, *Ethnology of the Gros Ventre*, 173.

[4a] There is some question whether the Wishram made parfleches.

[4b] Stewart Culin, *A Summer Trip Among the Western Indians* (Bulletin, Free Museum of Science and Art, University of Pennsylvania, III, 1901), 160.

[5] Barrett appends a note to the catalog entry (Univ. of Calif. Museum, 1-12454) giving the Klamath word for parfleche as ceptakaich. This is certainly Sahaptin: cf. Yakima cătá kai.

[6] One other specimen is either painted or incised, or both.

[7] Robert H. Lowie, *Crow Indian Art* (Anthropological Papers, American Museum of Natural History, 21, 1922, pt. 4), 277.

[8] Clark Wissler, *Decorative Art of the Sioux Indians* (Bulletin, American Museum of Natural History, 18, 1902, pt. 3), 256.

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however characteristic of some tribes, especially those on the western border, viz. Nez Percé and Northern Ute, to a lesser extent of the Yakima and Bannock, and it is noticeable among Assiniboin and Southern Ute pieces. This cannot be entirely due to their manufacture for sale in recent times, for the Nez Percé and Northern Ute pieces were collected as long ago (twenty years) as the Arapaho and Blackfoot, e. g. Further, many of the latter are not ancient since they are made of cowhide, not of the buffalo hide formerly in use. Carelessness is largely a matter of irregularity in line and shape, as in the case of the Northern Ute, or, as among the Nez Percé, of slight differences between the flaps, in the number of bars or triangles used to fill an area, and of failures to transpose colors to render the flaps symmetrical about a longitudinal median. The feeling for symmetry is so strong however that the only examples of asymmetry of the whole design (one Bannock and one Dakota specimen) are nevertheless symmetrical about either the longitudinal or the transverse axis of the design.

The nature of the lines differs among the tribes: some are straight and carefully drawn, others are careless. Some lines are curved: this not necessarily carelessness since these curves are symmetrically placed. The alignment is roughly as follows:

Careful	*Careless*	*Curved*
Crow	Northern Ute	Blackfoot
Wind River	Paiute	Kutenai
Southern Ute	Arapaho	Nez Percé
Warm Springs		Crow
Nez Percé		Dakota
Cheyenne		Cheyenne
Arapaho		Hidatsa[9]

The regularity of line is especially noteworthy in Crow specimens, and to a lesser extent in Wind River and Southern Ute. The Arapaho are as often careless as careful. Curved lines are more common among the Blackfoot than elsewhere.

Lines also differ in their width: my general observations may be summarized as follows:

Narrow	*Broad*	*Both or Medium*
Yakima	Hidatsa-Mandan	Nez Percé
Warm Springs	Dakota	Blackfoot
Bannock	Cheyenne	Gros Ventre
Kutenai	Wishram	Wind River
Crow		Northern Ute
Assiniboin		Southern Ute
Arapaho		Paiute
		Kiowa

Narrowness is quite characteristic of Crow and Yakima specimens.

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[9] Lowie observed that curved lines distinguish the Hidatsa and Blackfoot decoration from the Crow (*Crow Indian Art*, 284, 286.)

DESIGN ANALYSIS

Subjective elements necessarily figure largely in analyzing designs. Some salient features must be distinguished in order that they be described at all. What will be considered significant must depend on the object in view and one's background. All of which is trite enough, but is worth emphasizing here in order that it may be clear what I am doing and why I consider the subject again in the face of Kroeber's, Wissler's and Lowie's existing comparisons.

Their objective is essentially to characterize the art styles of particular tribes (Arapaho, Gros Ventre, Dakota, or Crow) by discriminating them from other tribes. Similarities are pointed out, but these are, on the whole, to specific elements in which the resemblance is close. That is, they are interested in picking out from the whole range of parfleches decorations just those elements which will, by their similarity, indicate historic connection, and by their peculiarity, assist in characterizing the tribal art under consideration. To be sure, comparisons are made among the other tribes, but I feel certain that this point of view has not been eliminated there.[10]

My approach is different: I am interested in this section in discovering similarities among all the parfleche art styles, rather than differences. In analyzing for elements that will yield to comparison, I begin with larger figures and descend to details only in so far as they show extended similarities. Peculiarities, which are valuable in characterizing a particular art, are ignored. My purpose is to discover the basis of design underlying all parfleche art.

Kroeber's extended comparison is based on the discrimination of three types: one in which triangles predominate, a second which combines squares and triangles, and a third in which squares are common apart from triangles. That is, he has been chosen the smallest unit of which the designs are composed. But as Lowie has pointed out the distinction is not so much in the occurence of these elements as in their combination. Lowie and I have accordingly given our attention to the larger figures and to their arrangement. Kroeber was, in a measure, justified: he began his inquiry as a study of symbolism, in which he found that the minor elements, not the combinations, were given a representative value by the Indians. But I do not think this need be construed that these minor elements are the original units of design.

It does not seem to me that it matters especially which method one follows. So long as it is consistently applied it must bring results. The best test seems to be whether we find extended distributions for an element, since everyone will agree that the parfleche art of the entire Plains is historically a unit.

THE DESIGN

Considering the character of the whole design I think it is possible to separate the tribal styles into three groups. The designs of a few are simple and bold, others are divided into many small units, while the remainder fall definitely into neither class.

[10] Wissler, *Decorative Art of the Sioux Indians*, 254-258, 276-277; Kroeber, *Ethnology of the Gros Ventre*, 168-177; Lowie, *Crow Indian Art*, 277-287.

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Bold	*Intermediate*	*Small Units*
Nez Percé	Warm Springs	Thompson
Yakima	Sarci	Wishram
Crow	Blackfoot	Kutenai
	Bannock	Gros Ventre
	Arapaho	Assiniboin
	Cheyenne	Hidatsa-Mandan
	Northern Ute	Dakota
	Paiute	Wind River
	Kiowa	Southern Ute
	Oto	

This does not mean that the designs of one tribe are all simple and bold, for example, but that they are commonly so.[11]

Shape of the Design Area. The designs are always arranged within a rectangle or trapezoid, whether or not they are surrounded by a frame. The trapezoids are uniformly smaller on the inner ends of the flaps, i.e., those tied together. Rectangular forms prevail: trapezoidal forms are distinctly northwestern. All of the Sarci, Kutenai, and Thompson designs are trapezoidal, most of the Blackfoot, nearly half the Assiniboin, and some of the Yakima, Nez Percé, Gros Ventre, Crow, and Northern Ute.[12]

Frame. These rectangular or trapezoidal areas are enclosed in a single line, a double line, or, where the lines are separated, a frame. Many parfleches have a strip or narrow panel set off at each side or end by a line parallel to the bounding line. In such cases it is not usual to find that the two remaining ends or sides bear double lines. The decorative treatment of the two pairs of margins is also quite unlike that of the frame. This leads me to believe that the side or end strips (Lowie's longitudinal and transverse strips) should be treated apart from the frames. I am accordingly excluding them here.

The distribution of the single bounding line is general, but it does not occur, or at least rarely, among Kutenai, Sarci, Blackfoot, Assiniboin, Cheyenne, and Southern Ute. The double line is a western feature, commonest among Nez Percé, Crow, Wind River, and Northern Ute. The frame is absent from many of the western tribes: it is characteristic of the groups from the Nez Percé to the Assiniboin and again of the Arapaho, Cheyenne, and Southern Ute. If we take double lines and frames together—they are perhaps conceptually

[11] Kroeber observes that, in contrast to the Arapaho, the Dakota specimens are almost completely covered with decoration, those of the Gros Ventre are less open, the Blackfoot more open than the Dakota, and the Shoshoni, Ute, and Bannock figures are relatively large and simple. The Nez Percé and Yakima designs are large but have much background (loc. cit., 172-176.) Lowie also notes that the Dakota crowd the decorative field (loc. cit., 280.)

[12] Wissler observes that the trapezoidal area (or folding the flaps so that they taper?) is a characteristic of Blackfoot, Assiniboin, Sarci, Kutenai, and appears in one Comanche specimen (*Material Culture of the Blackfoot Indians*, Anthropological Papers, American Museum of Natural History, 5, 1905, 82.) Kroeber was not justified in stating that the design area of parfleches and rawhide bags is invariably rectangular (*Ethnology of the Gros Ventre*, 168.)

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related—we have included all the tribes in a central area extending north and south.

Central Stripe. The commonest feature in the designs is a double line extending longitudinally through the middle of the flap. This divides the design into two panels, or it serves as the basis of a central unit. It occurs in all the tribes (except in the two Thompson and Okanagan pieces) and is common among Warm Springs, Nez Percé, Sarci, Blackfoot, Gros Ventre, Assiniboin, Hidatsa-Mandan, Bannock, Wind River, Arapaho, and Cheyenne.

This central stripe becomes the basis of a large central figure in some cases. In others it serves to divide the design into two panels each of which bears a large figure symmetrical with that in the other panel. Some examples have a combination of these. The first type is generally used except in the east and southwest, where Assiniboin, Hidatsa-Mandan, Dakota, Oto, Southern Ute, and Paiute use only the second type. They occur together principally among Warm Springs, Nez Percé, and Blackfoot. The third type, the combination, does not occur west of the Plains proper, and is commonest among Dakota, Arapaho and Cheyenne.

Side and End Strips. Similar to the division of the design into two panels by a central double line is the separation of a narrow panel or strip at each side or end by a line extending across the design (Lowie's longitudinal and transverse stripes.) This leaves a large central panel which may again be bisected by the central double line. As noted above it is sometimes difficult to decide whether we are dealing with a strip in this sense or with part of a frame.

The distribution of both elements of design is restricted and neither is extensively used. Side strips appear on about half the Dakota and Wind River parfleches. They also occur among the Nez Percé, Blackfoot, Gros Ventre, Assiniboin, Hidatsa-Mandan, Crow, and Arapaho. End strips are not so common. Yakima, Nez Percé, and Crow use them: a few examples are from the Wishram, Gros Ventre, Dakota, and Wind River. That is, the areas of distribution are roughly the same, although end strips extend somewhat farther to the northwest. Yet both strips appear in the same design in only two instances in the entire collection.

Central Lozenge. Despite the simplicity of the underlying unit—the triangle, lozenge, rectangle, and straight line—it is surprising what a great variety of patterns are found. Rarely is one duplicated other than in those cases where the parfleches were made in pairs with identical designs. A few elements are however widely used. Such are the lozenge, rectangles, and hourglass shapes placed in a central position in the design.

The central lozenge is usually so large as to dominate the design. In other cases it is surmounted at each end by a triangle, the apex of which it touches, or it is circumscribed by a rectangle. In no case does a lozenge occur in any position other than the center of the design or of a panel. These lozenges are frequently bisected by the central double line, or by a horizontal

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double line. It is not always certain then that a lozenge is intended rather than two opposing triangles with their bases in contact. True lozenges, that is those which are not bisected, are more common among Nez Percé, Crow, Northern Ute, and Dakota.

The central lozenge is found in all tribes, except the peripheral Wishram, Southern Ute, Kiowa, and Oto. Within this area, lozenges the full size of the central panel are used only by the central and northwestern tribes; Blackfoot, Gros Ventre, Crow, Bannock, Wind River, and Arapaho, and to a lesser extent by the Thompson, Okanagan, Yakima, Warm Springs, and Nez Percé.

Other forms of the lozenge have interesting distributions. That in which the lozenge is the full length of the central area between two end strips is found among Nez Percé and Crow, with one Gros Ventre example. The lozenge surmounted by triangles at two extremities (Lowie's funnels) is widely distributed but is commonest in Nez Percé, Dakota, Arapaho, Wind River, and Northern Ute designs. Enclosing such a lozenge in a rectangle is a trait shared by Arapaho and Wind River. Further in two Wind River and one Blackfoot designs the rectangle is formed by the lines marking off side or end strips, which recalls the Nez Percé-Crow type described above.

Central Rectangle. A rectangle in a central position is always surmounted by two triangles, the apices of which touch it on opposite sides. This is commonest in Wind River, Arapaho, and Crow specimens but is also present in Yakima, Warm Springs, Blackfoot, Gros Ventre, Dakota, and Northern Ute. In two Wind River, two Crow pieces and the single Blackfoot example, the rectangle results from intersecting end and side strips.

Central Hourglass. Hourglass shapes, also centrally located, are used in much the same area. They are exceedingly common among the Crow, less so among Nez Percé, Blackfoot, Gros Ventre, Dakota, and Wind River, and are exhibited on one specimen each from the Kutenai and Northern Ute, and on two from the Arapaho. This distribution includes that of two similar hourglasses placed side by side, with or without a central figure, such as a lozenge, between them (one each from Nez Percé, Blackfoot and Wind River, and two from Gros Ventre.) An hourglass surmounted by two triangles, like the lozenge and rectangle described above, is seen in Crow, Gros Ventre, and Dakota designs.

Column. An element, which for want of a better name I will call a "column," consists of two triangles apically joined by a line or band. These extend longitudinally on each side of a central figure. They have a southern distribution, that is among Cheyenne and Arapaho, but there are single examples from the Paiute, Northern Ute, and Hidatsa-Mandan.

Another element resembles the last: it is a short, attenuated hourglass form placed longitudinally at the apex of a triangle and parallel to its base. It appears in two nearly identical parfleches of the Cheyenne and Dakota, in a similar Arapaho design, and a quite dissimilar one of the Northern Ute.

Frame Decoration. The decoration of the frame exhibits some areal differ-

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ences. There are two general types of framing: narrow frames, filled in solidly with color at the corners and elsewhere or with transverse lines, and broad frames in which triangles are inserted at intervals.

Narrow frames occur in two well-marked areas. In the north the Warm Springs, Nez Percé, Kutenai, Sarci, Blackfoot, and Assiniboin decorate these by inserting short transverse lines, usually oblique and in half the cases placed in sets of three. The other type of narrow frame decoration is especially characteristic of the Arapaho and Cheyenne. In this the frame is filled solidly with color for a short distance at each corner, or similar areas of color are placed on the sides and ends (especially at the mid-points) or these are combined. Besides the many examples from Cheyenne and Arapaho, there are only single pieces from Dakota, Crow, Assiniboin, Gros Ventre and Blackfoot. Two Kiowa borders are marked for painting the corners, and one Arapaho for painting the side, but the areas are not filled in.

The broad frame is decorated primarily by the insertion of triangles at intervals.[18] This is prevalent among Dakota, Hidatsa-Mandan, and Blackfoot: examples are also found in Sarci, Gros Ventre, Assiniboin, Crow, Bannock, Wind River, Arapaho, Cheyenne, Southern Ute, and Oto. These triangles are peculiar in that two sides are formed by broad bands and that in all cases save two their bases rest on the outer margin of the design. Their similarity is further shown in that there are three to the side or end (or both) in two-thirds of the examples. In a closely related form the triangles are simply solid areas of color. This is found on Blackfoot, Gros Ventre, Dakota, Wind River, and Southern Ute specimens. Decoration by a zigzag line running lengthwise of the band occurs on two Assiniboin specimens and one from the Dakota. Longitudinal bars set in rectangles, three to the side, and three in the central bar, are seen only in Dakota and Arapaho pieces.

Side Strip Decoration. This is of three types. The strip may be divided into three or five rectangular areas of solid color. This appears on Wind River, Crow, and Nez Percé parfleches. A common decoration consists of a large triangle with its base on the outer margin of the design, but sometimes facing in the opposite direction. In a few instances the base of this triangle is the full length of the design but it usually occupies only the central portion of the side strip. Then it is formed by a V-band of color in most cases. All these seem to be varieties of a single idea, commonest among Wind River and Crow, and also used by Northern Ute (?), Nez Percé, Yakima, and Wishram. An Arapaho specimen combines both types; a crude triangle being placed in each rectangle. The third type of decoration has been discussed in connection with broad frames (see above). In this a series of three triangles, each formed by a V-band and with its base to the outer margin, are placed in the side strip. This is obviously related to the second type above.

End Strip Decoration. These display a surprising uniformity of fundamental design despite their apparent variety. There are a score of examples:

[18] I am including cases bearing this decoration but where the frame is found only on two sides. These are also included as side strips below.

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in all save one the basic unit is one or more large triangles. (The single exceptional case consists of eight triangular areas formed by two St. Andrew's crosses.) These triangles are placed with the base to the outer edge of the parfleche, or at least so the central triangle is placed when there are more than one. There is only one specimen which does not conform to this rule. I have pointed out on the preceding page that this is also true of the triangles that figure in the frame design. The area of distribution of this feature is exactly that of the end strips. One form, in which a single triangle has for its base the entire end of the parfleche, is common to Nez Percé and Crow alone.

A few parfleches exhibit what seem to be discrepancies of design, that is, a band is added at one end only, that which is adjacent to the other flap. But contrary to what might be expected of a mere discrepancy, this feature has not a random distribution, but is confined to the Southern Ute, Wind River, Northern Ute, Bannock, and Warm Springs people. The decoration on some of these extra strips among the Wind River, Northern Ute, and Bannock is similar to that in the end strips just described. And it will be noted that they are found in an immediately adjoining area.

Corner Rectangles. A score of parfleches have rectangles of solid color in the four corners of the design area. These are part either of the end or side strips, or are formed by the intersection of both. The Crow and Wind River Shoshoni use them more than others, but they appear on one or more specimens of Yakima, Nez Percé, Gros Ventre, and Dakota. Thus there is a continuous area of distribution for this feature.

Other rectangles that are not set off by side or end strips are also used. These are also at or near the corners. This unit of design is used by Okanagan, Yakima, Warm Springs, Wind River, Arapaho, and Northern Ute. The last two also place a rectangle at the middle of each end. This again is a western area of distribution. We should also note that if we include central rectangles with these there is a continuous area for rectangular forms ranging from the Okanagan to the Arapaho.

Border Decoration. This appears along the sides and only in rare instances along the ends of the design. I cannot find that it makes any difference that the design as a whole is framed.[14] The styles of decoration applied to the border are surprisingly few. By far the most common is an isosceles triangle with its base along the outer margin or frame, or a solidly filled K-shaped figure with its back or upright to the margin.

These triangles usually extend the full length of the parfleches or of the central panel formed by the end strips. Sometimes they occupy only the central portion of the side. These features apparently have no independent distribution. Taking them together, they predominate among Nez Percé, Crow, Arapaho, and Cheyenne, also occurring among Yakima, Kutenai, Gros Ventre,

[14] Above I separated the side and end strips for the purposes of analysis. But here I am considering border decoration (Lowie's lateral figures) whether it occurs on the strip or in the central panel. The decorations are similar.

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Hidatsa-Mandan, Dakota, Wind River, Northern Ute, and Paiute. A similar design with two isosceles triangles the bases of which occupy all or most of the outer margin is also widely distributed. It is most common in Nez Percé, Hidatsa-Mandan, Dakota, Wind River and Southern Ute designs, and occurs on Yakima, Crow, Cheyenne, and Paiute pieces. A third arrangement consists of a central isosceles triangle placed like those mentioned above, but flanked at each end by a right triangle that fills the corner. This decoration is known in a restricted area: Yakima, Wishram, Nez Percé, Kutenai, Sarci, Blackfoot and Crow.

Two other styles of border decoration have indeterminate distributions. One consists again of a small central isosceles triangle flanked by right triangles, but this time with their vertical legs adjacent to the central triangle. In the north this is used by Sarci and Blackfoot; further south by Dakota, Arapaho, Northern Ute, and Kiowa. The other is similar save that the central triangle is lacking. This is known to Sarci, Gros Ventre, and Northern Ute.

The solidly-filled K-shaped figure, like the triangle, occupies either the entire length of the parfleche or of the central panel formed by the end strips. This again is widely distributed: it is characteristic of the Nez Percé, but also occurs among Yakima, Crow, Assiniboin, Dakota, Bannock, and Arapaho.

One striking feature of these border decorations is that the triangles have their bases in the outer margin. This is also true of the K-shaped figures where one base of each triangle of which it is formed borders the margin. I have pointed out that this is the case with the triangles used in the frame decoration and in the side and end strips. Exceptions are rarely found.

It does not appear that the use of a triangle or K-shaped figure along the border is contingent on the form of the central figure. That is, it is true that in some cases the oblique arms of the K-figure, for example, follow the lines of a central lozenge, but the K-figure does not occur with central lozenges more than with any other central figure.

Central Stripe Decoration. The decoration within the longitudinal central double line is not very variable. Perhaps this is because the lines are close together, leaving little space for embellishment. There are but a dozen examples where these lines are so far apart as to form a central decorated panel. The decoration within this narrow strip is, with but few exceptions, of two sorts: either the area is filled in solidly with color for part or all its length, or it contains oblique lines or a series of small triangles.

In the first type of decoration the color appears in a band at the middle of the strip (as among Nez Percé, Crow, Dakota, Arapaho, and Cheyenne), or in two bands, one near or at each end (Yakima, Nez Percé, Crow and Gros Ventre.) Sometimes these two variants are combined to form three bands of color in the strip (principally Nez Percé and Wind River, but also Yakima, Wishram, Blackfoot, Gros Ventre, Assiniboin, and Bannock.) Except for the form with two bands, which occurs in a compact area, these distributions are perhaps not significant. But on combining them we find this first type predominates among

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Nez Percé, Crow, Gros Ventre, Wind River, and Arapaho, forming a more or less continuous area of distribution.

The other decorative elements in this strip are oblique lines or bands and a series of small triangles with their bases transversely placed. Curiously enough the oblique lines are in the same direction in all instances save one. If that end adjacent to the other flap be considered the top of the design, their obliquity may be described as from above on the left side to below on the right. This decorative feature is used by Warm Springs, Nez Percé, Crow, Gros Ventre, Assiniboin, and Wind River—a continuous distribution. This lies south of the area of decoration of the frame with oblique lines or bands; the two features being common only to Warm Springs, Nez Percé, and Assiniboin. But they are not used on the same parfleche. The series of triangles occur on one specimen each from Yakima, Warm Springs, Nez Percé, Bannock, Kutenai, Blackfoot, and Gros Ventre; again a compact distribution. The identity of design is established further in that the apices of all the triangles point toward the other flap in the case of the Warm Springs, Nez Percé, Blackfoot, and Bannock, although some point in the opposite direction in the Kutenai and Gros Ventre pieces. Another element inserted in the central strip or panel is the hourglass. There are three Assiniboin instances of this, two Cheyenne, and one Arapaho.

It should be noted that the central strip does not always bear decoration. It is left blank in several instances by the Blackfoot, Crow, Wind River, Arapaho, Cheyenne, Northern Ute, and Warm Springs, and in one specimen each of the Yakima, Nez Percé, and Bannock—again a group within a continuous area.

Miniature Triangles. A noticeable feature in some designs is the insertion of a series of very small triangles (usually black) along the border of a rectangle, or as a band at the base of a larger triangle, and the like. This is a widely distributed but by no means universal element; it is most common in Cheyenne and Northern Ute designs, but also enters into those of the Yakima, Nez Percé, Kutenai, Sarci, Blackfoot, Gros Ventre, Assiniboin, Crow, Dakota, Wind River, Arapaho, Paiute, and Kiowa.

Four special forms are noteworthy. In some larger triangles which rest on their bases against the end margins, such as those which surmount a central rectangle, a line is drawn parallel to the base, and the little triangles inserted in this area. This is found in a compact area in the north among Yakima, Kutenai, Blackfoot, Gros Ventre, Assiniboin, Crow, and Wind River, and further south among Cheyenne and Kiowa. Two other forms are a border of such triangles to a large rectangle and their insertion in a small rectangle itself enclosed in a triangle. Both are known only from Northern Ute, Arapaho, and Cheyenne. The fourth form occurs in an Assiniboin design where they border a large central lozenge; this has its analog in a Gros Ventre specimen where the lozenge is formed by four triangles.

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REAR RECTANGLES

In addition to the decorations which parfleches bear on the front flaps, many have a rectangle inscribed on the back and further decorations on each of the side flaps. These side flaps, it must be remembered, are folded under the front flaps and can be only partially seen when the parfleche is closed.

The rectangle on the rear is a widely distributed feature and extensively used everywhere except in the center of the plains. All parfleches from the Thompson, Yakima, Kutenai, Hidatsa-Mandan, Northern and Southern Ute in the collections studied are so adorned. It is on a majority of Nez Percé, Sarci, Bannock, Assiniboin, Dakota, and Cheyenne pieces. It is sparingly used by the Blackfoot and Arapaho, and appears on only one specimen each from Crow, Gros Ventre, and Paiute.

This rectangle ordinarily is formed by two lines connecting the corners of the front flaps, the lower margins of which then form the end lines of the rear rectangle. In some cases a line is drawn across each end near the front flaps, giving the appearance of a partly independent rectangle on the back (Yakima, Nez Percé, Bannock, and Northern Ute.) But the Yakima, Nez Percé, and Kutenai sometimes draw true separate rectangles. The Northern Ute frequently draw the side lines double, a feature of two Kutenai and one Arapaho specimen as well.

DECORATION OF THE SIDE FLAPS

The decoration of the side flaps is a northwestern feature: Thompson, Yakima, Nez Percé, Kutenai, Sarci, Blackfoot, Assiniboin, Crow, and Dakota.[15] The design is always arranged along the flap, either based on the side line of the rear rectangle or running parallel to it. The decorations are more roughly executed than those on the front flaps and are more fluctuating in design. Nevertheless similarities are found.[16]

A series of isosceles triangles with their bases on the side line of the rear rectangle is the commonest design. These are three in number in Nez Percé, Blackfoot, Assiniboin, Dakota, and Crow specimens. Kutenai, as well as other Nez Percé examples, have more than three; Yakima only two. I think these represent fundamentally the same design.[17]

Other designs are each confined to but a few tribes. A narrow rectangle resting on the side line of the rear rectangle is used by Thompson, Yakima, and Nez Percé. Probably a Kutenai piece, in which the design is enclosed by a roughly executed flat-curved line, should be included with these. This rectangle bears no further decoration in some Yakima and Nez Percé pieces. The same pair of tribes have in common a row of isosceles triangles with their apices on the side line of the rear rectangle, and another form in which a series of lozenges lie parallel to that line.

[15] Kroeber (*Ethnology of the Gros Ventre*, 174) adds sporadic cases from Gros Ventre and [Northern] Ute.

[16] Unfortunately I have no notes on the Sarci decorations.

[17] Kroeber (loc. cit., 176) also notes that the typical form is a row of angles or V's with their apices directed upward.

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Lines or bands are placed vertical (or in one case oblique) to this base line. These are enclosed in a rectangle by Thompson and Yakima, but not by Nez Percé and Kutenai. One other element couples two tribes—Yakima and Dakota—a lozenge with one apex resting on the base line and with a triangle on each side some distance from it.

THE PARFLECHE TIE

Incidentally observations were made on the mode of fastening the parfleche. The two front flaps are tied together, as well as to the side flaps in some instances. The outer extremity of each flap is therefore pierced to receive the thongs. The holes are frequently cut through the design area: they are never the basis for design. The holes usually are placed in pairs: commonly a single pair at the center, or three pairs, the others being near the sides. There are a number of Northern Ute parfleches in which the holes occur singly, not in pairs. Some have only a single hole at each side with a pair at the center. These seem to be cases where a hole of the outer pair has been cut away, for many, having the outer holes pierced one through the front flap and the other through that portion of it folded underneath, have the same appearance. My notes are unfortunately not sufficient to indicate whether this is significant.

	PAIRS OF HOLES				SINGLE HOLES	
	One	Two	Three	Four	Three	Four
Thompson	..	..	1	..	..	..
Okanagan	1	..	..	..	..	..
Yakima	5	2	8	..	..	..
Wishram	1	..	1	..	..	..
Warm Springs	4	..	2	..	..	..
Nez Percé	16	..	10	..	..	..
Kutenai	..	..	4	..	..	..
Sarci	..	..	5	..	..	..
Blackfoot	3	..	10	..	..	..
Gros Ventre	1	..	7	..	..	..
Assiniboin	1	..	4	..	..	..
Hidatsa-Mandan	1	..	4	..	..	..
Crow	20	..	2	..	..	..
Bannock	5	..	..	..	..	..
Dakota	1	..	13	..	..	..
Wind River	7	..	2	..	..	..
Arapaho	52	..	2	..	..	..
Cheyenne	2	..	6	..	..	..
Northern Ute	4	1	3	1	4	1
Southern Ute	..	..	3	..	..	..
Paiute	1	..	2	..	..	..
Kiowa	..	..	2	..	..	..
Oto	..	..	..	..	1	..

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There is a distinction in the distribution of the one-pair and three-pair tie. The three-pair tie is characteristic of the eastern and southern tribes; the one-pair tie of the central tribes—Crow, Bannock, Wind River Shoshoni, and Arapaho. The group to the west—Yakima, Wishram, Warm Springs, Nez Percé, and Northern Ute—use both.[18]

HISTORICAL RELATIONS

Since this study did not include detailed similarities, only relations based on the broadest resemblances can be cited. The tabulation below shows the number of times the tribes shared the design elements listed above.

	Thompson	Okanagan	Yakima	Wishram	Warm Springs	Nez Percé	Kutenai	Sarci	Blackfoot	Gros Ventre	Assiniboin	Hidatsa-Mandan	Crow	Dakota	Bannock	Wind River	Arapaho	Cheyenne	Northern Ute	Southern Ute	Paiute	Kiowa	Oto
Thompson	—	2	6	2	4	6	3	3	4	4	3	2	5	3	4	3	4	2	3	1	2	0	0
Okanagan	2	—	3	1	3	2	0	1	2	2	0	1	2	1	2	3	3	1	2	0	1	0	0
Yakima	6	3	—	5	11	21	11	8	14	17	10	4	21	13	10	17	12	9	11	3	8	3	1
Wishram	2	1	5	—	1	6	1	2	3	3	1	1	4	2	2	4	1	1	1	0	1	0	0
Warm Springs	4	3	11	1	—	11	4	5	8	9	6	2	9	6	9	11	9	4	8	2	4	1	1
Nez Percé	6	22	21	6	11	—	11	8	15	19	11	7	26	16	11	20	13	10	9	4	7	3	2
Kutenai	3	0	11	1	4	11	—	8	12	10	8	2	12	7	5	8	7	7	7	2	4	4	1
Sarci	3	1	8	2	5	8	8	—	11	10	8	5	9	8	7	8	9	7	8	4	6	4	3
Blackfoot	4	2	14	3	8	15	12	11	—	18	14	8	17	13	10	15	14	10	8	4	4	5	3
Gros Ventre	4	2	17	3	9	19	10	10	18	—	15	8	25	17	10	22	15	12	10	5	9	4	3
Assiniboin	3	0	10	1	6	11	8	8	14	15	—	6	14	12	7	12	10	8	5	4	5	3	3
Hidatsa-Mandan	2	1	4	1	2	7	2	5	8	8	6	—	8	9	5	8	8	8	4	5	5	1	3
Crow	5	2	21	4	9	26	12	9	17	25	14	8	—	20	9	23	17	15	12	4	7	4	2
Dakota	3	1	13	2	6	16	7	8	13	17	12	9	20	—	7	16	16	12	10	5	8	3	3
Bannock	4	2	10	2	9	11	5	7	10	10	7	5	9	7	—	11	10	7	6	5	4	2	3
Wind River	3	3	17	4	11	20	8	8	15	22	12	8	23	16	11	—	16	12	12	6	8	4	3
Arapaho	4	3	12	1	9	13	7	9	14	15	10	8	17	16	10	16	—	13	13	4	7	5	3
Cheyenne	2	1	9	1	4	10	7	7	10	12	8	8	15	12	7	12	13	—	9	4	7	4	2
Northern Ute	3	2	11	1	8	9	7	8	8	10	5	4	12	10	6	12	13	9	—	2	8	3	0
Southern Ute	1	0	3	0	2	4	2	4	4	5	4	5	4	5	5	6	4	4	2	—	3	1	3
Paiute	2	1	8	1	4	7	4	6	4	9	5	5	7	8	4	8	7	7	8	3	—	1	1
Kiowa	0	0	3	0	1	3	4	4	5	4	3	1	4	3	2	4	5	4	3	1	1	—	1
Oto	0	0	1	0	1	2	1	3	3	3	3	3	2	3	3	3	3	2	0	3	1	1	—

Taking only those groups for which we have a sufficient number of specimens to justify comparison, the most obvious connection indicated is that among the northwestern tribes. Yakima and Nez Percé form a fairly well de-

[18] This does not agree with Wissler's observations, according to which the Gros Ventre, [Northern] Ute and Nez Percé have the one-pair tie (*Material Culture of the Blackfoot Indians*, 82.)

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fined group with Crow, Gros Ventre, and Wind River Shoshoni. Probably Wishram and Warm Springs belong with them. The notable point is that these northwestern tribes are affiliated with the Crow, not with the Blackfoot. Yet Blackfoot and Sarci, which may be classed together, show strongest leanings to Crow and Gros Ventre, as might be expected.

The others cannot be readily separated into smaller groups. Arapaho, Cheyenne, Dakota, and Northern Ute, with Crow, Gros Ventre, and Wind River again, have many resemblances, but noteably few with the northwestern group.

These conclusions do not altogether agree with those of Kroeber and Lowie, who looked for specific detailed similarities. Kroeber suggests a grouping of Arapaho and Dakota, probably with Cheyenne and Kutenai, and a second common element among Shoshoni and Northern Ute, possibly with Blackfoot, the Sahaptin tribes, and Gros Ventre.[19] So far as the first group is concerned we agree, except that my group is larger. But my data indicate that Kutenai affiliate rather with Yakima, Nez Percé, Blackfoot, and Crow.

Lowie finds little resemblance of Crow to Arapaho, Dakota, Blackfoot, or Gros Ventre, and none with Hidatsa. The Hidatsa resemble Dakota and Assiniboin: the Cheyenne especially resemble Arapaho and to a lesser extent Dakota. The Crow are most like the Shoshoni, and the Sahaptin belong perhaps with Crow and Shoshoni.[20] My only disagreement is with the first: there are broader resemblances of Crow with the tribes named, but, it is true none especially with the Hidatsa.

Wissler observes of the Blackfoot: "it seems quite significant that parfleche decoration is usually referred to as 'Gros Ventre painting', probably meaning that the whole was copied directly from that tribe."[21] Kroeber disagrees: "it is quite evident that the influence suggested by this name has actually had very little to do with the origin and development of the present style of Blackfoot painting."[22] My tabulation shows a slightly higher number of resemblances of the Blackfoot with Gros Ventre than with any other. This may mean that there has been some basic influence in one direction or the other.

It is undeniably true that the similarities may be due to convergence because of the simplicity of the elements involved in design. But the fact that at least many elements are found with continuous distributions shows some influence of contacts.

THE PROCESS OF DESIGN

This section will attempt to describe the essentials in the designing of the parfleche decorations, as inferred from the specimens alone.

The units of design are very simple: triangles, rectangles, straight lines, and dots. (The circle does not occur.) But it is remarkable that many ways

[19] *Ethnology of the Gros Ventre*, 168-171.
[20] *Crow Indian Art*, 283-287.
[21] *Decorative Art of the Sioux Indians*, 276.
[22] *Ethnology of the Gros Ventre*, 177.

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in which these could occur in combination in design are not found. For example, there is no instance of a single triangle as a central figure: triangles are used frequently enough at the center, but always in such combination as to form a lozenge or hourglass. The cross does not occur alone: it exists only as part of (or formed by) other figures. The rectangle does not stand alone at the center: it is always surmounted by triangles. The units are never scattered over the surface as isolated bits: they are always adjacent to other units or to the framing lines.

I gain the impression that the design is essentially a process of continuous subdivision. The bounding line is first drawn to form a rectangle or trapezoid. Next this area may be bisected by a double line extending longitudinally through the center, for example, and the side strips also set off. This gives four narrow longitudinal areas for further subdivision. In the side strips, lines may be drawn from the outer corners to the middle of the inner side. Other lines, beginning somewhat nearer the middle of the outer side converge again at the middle of the inner side, forming an isosceles triangle; and so on. In a very large proportion of cases the lines begin or end at the midpoints, third-points or quarter-points on the side of another figure. It is especialy noteworthy that the figures, in the vast majority of instances, lie one within another: they are not built up as isolated units merely adjacent to each other or touching at a single point. If the process is one of continuous subdivision of existing areas, it would explain why no parfleches decorated with isolated triangles, and the like, are found.[23]

The process is not one of drawing lines at random, of course, since the tendency is to conform to a tribal pattern—and these are not very divergent. The lines are always drawn in corresponding positions in analogous and symmetrical figures. Subdivision may be thought of as a function of the very strong tendency to symmetry.

The tendency to symmetry is marked: the design is symmetrical about both a longitudinal and a horizontal axis. The longitudinal axis is clearly indicated in almost every instance by a double central line, a longitudinal central figure, and so forth. The horizontal axis is not marked, as a rule. Asymmetry is rare. In the few cases where it occurs in the design as a whole, the design is at least symmetrical about one axis. The total number of minor discrepancies (ommission of a unit or line, or the failure to transpose a color or the direction of a line) is small.

Isoceles triangles are used far more frequently than right triangles: oblique triangles very rarely. It is possible that the use of the isoceles forms is an expression of this symmetrical tendency.

Symmetry also appears as a marked factor in Plains bead and quill work, but only to a very slight degree in realistic art. Subdivision is largely absent from the bead work, however, although characteristic of parfleche and rawhide-bag decoration. Designing on skin objects differs from that in basketry,

[23] If the parfleche were now at hand, it would be possible to determine in many instances the order in which the lines were applied by the way they overlap.

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textiles, or bead work in that the whole area can be seen at one time, the parts regularly disposed more readily, and the intention executed with a single stroke of the brush. This probably accounts to a degree for subdivision, and to a lesser extent for symmetry. Yet neither factor appears in the realistic paintings, which could show both traits and still be representative, if not entirely realistic.

The process of design bears a doubtful relation to symbolism. To choose an example at random: the parfleche figured in Kroeber's *Arapaho,* Plate XIX, figure 6. Here is a characteristic Arapaho design with three longitudinal stripes, each a diamond surmounted by a triangle, and a large isoceles triangle on each side. The central stripe encloses smaller lozenges and triangles: the marginal triangles bear smaller triangles. We are told (loc. cit., 110) the three stripes represent similar objects, i. e. tents with their protruding poles meeting to form the lozenges. The central stripe alone has further triangles within it which purport to represent the doorways. These triangles divide the area regularly into successively smaller areas. The large marginal triangles are similarly subdivided, yet these triangles are not given an interpretation. I cannot believe that a tendency toward representation in composition would have failed to reproduce the subsidiary triangles in the two other stripes, since all three represent tents alike, and to have omitted those in the marginal triangles, where they have no meaning. Rather it would seem that the design was carried out irrespective of the tendency to represent these objects.

The point I am discussing is that of composition. Kroeber and Wissler have pointed out that the symbolical value given to a form is variable and the same object may be represented by a variety of forms. This in itself should permit fluidity in composition. "In a decoration which symbolizes buffalo-hunting, a stripe naturally represents a bow," but a bow is not represented if the decoration by which the hunt is expressed does not permit of the insertion of a stripe.[24]

It may be of interest to try to define the canons of parfleche decoration:

1. The decoration appears on the front flaps.
2. The area to be decorated is a rectangle (or a trapezoid approaching it) nearly the full size of the flap.
3. The area may be enclosed in a rectangular frame.
4. Somewhat more than half the surface must be covered by the design units.
5. The design units are straight lines and areas of flat color in the shape of triangles, lozenges, hourglasses, and rectangles.
6. The design is symmetrical about a longitudinal axis, and to only a slightly less degree, a horizontal axis as well.
7. The longitudinal axis is marked, the horizontal is not. The longitudinal axis is formed by a double line, an elongated lozenge or hourglass, or the apices of triangles surmounting a central rectangle.

[24] Loc. cit., 144; cf. Wissler, *Decorative Art of the Sioux Indians,* 240.

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8. Strips at both ends or sides (or both) may be set off by lines extending across the design area.
9. Subordinate elements are formed by subdivision of the central figure, the side or end strips, and the marginal parts of the area.
10. The border at the sides, like the central longitudinal portion, bears decoration. The border unit is a K-figure extending the full length of the side or it is one or more isoceles triangles, the bases of which fill one side.

A suggestion may be offered as to the origin of the trapezoidal shapes. Many parfleches are folded so that the flaps are trapezoidal. This may be due to a desire to offset a tendency of the outer ends to flare when the flaps are folded in a rectangular shape. The trapezoidal fold occurs with practically all trapezoidal designs, and with some rectangular designs as well. As a rule, the design fills the flap (or rather, the flap is folded close to the design.) The possibility is, then, that the trapezoidal design is a modification to fit the trapezoidal fold.

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KLALLAM FOLK TALES

By

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PREFACE

This group of tales, recorded while engaged in field work for the University of Washington, represents only a small part of Klallam traditions. Three Klallam groups were visited to secure this collection: Jamestown, a Klallam village several miles east of Dungeness on the Straits of Juan de Fuca, the scattered settlements of Klallam along the lower Elwah River, seven miles west of Port Angeles, and the few Klallam families living at Esquimalt near Victoria, B.C.

At Jamestown the principal informants were Johnson Williams, a very well educated Klallam who acted as interpreter as well, David Prince and Wilson Johnson, two of the younger men who have a sincere interest in recording these traditions, Joe Johnson and his wife, the parents of Wilson, an old couple who still remember the old life from actual participation, John Solomon and his wife, and John Cook, another "old timer."

Mrs. Joe Samson, occasionally aided by her husband, told the tales of the Elwah Klallam and at Port Angeles I worked with Mrs. Jennie Talicus, another member of the Elwah group. Both of these women are well over fifty years old and had gotten the traditions from their parents. Living in the same group was Boston Charley, a man near eighty years of age, nicknamed "Boston" because of his fondness for the whites when they first came and his eagerness to live with them and accord to their customs. On this account he spent little of his youth among his own people and consequently did not know the mythology as well as one might expect from a man of his age.

At Esquimalt I have so far worked only with Mrs. Robbie Davis, who migrated with her family from the American side when she was a very young girl. She heard the Klallam traditions from her father.

One of the problems in the study of oral literature is the influence of the narrator on the literary style of the story. For this reason more than one version of a tale is recorded here. Even in this limited collection an example of this influence is evident. Mrs. Davis's versions are always longer and more elaborate than those of other informants. It remains to be seen whether this is her peculiar style or whether her story-telling has been influenced by the literary forms of neighboring tribes of Vancouver Island where longer tales are current.

Comparative notes are attached to the abstracts. Although I have by no means exhausted all the comparative material available I have tried to cover all the representative collections within a limited radius. As the work stands now these notes show a rather interesting affiliation with the tales of tribes to the north, particularly to those of Vancouver Island. Whole tales as well as separate incidents more frequently have parallels to the north than to the south.

Although the Klallam have a secret society, so far no esoteric tales

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nected with it, if there are such, have been recorded. The typical Klallam story, at least in this collection, is a comparatively short tale with a definite plot and with few explanatory elements.

The explanatory elements are printed in italics in the abstracts.

The phonetic symbols used are:

ɛ	obscure vowel
x	velar spirant
ɬ	surd lateral
ᵘ	weakly articulated u
!	weak fortis
'	glottal stop.

ERNA GUNTHER

Seattle
August 1, 1925.

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KLALLAM FOLK TALES

THE PEOPLE WHO BECAME ROCKS[1]

There was a man at Freshwater Bay whose wife was mean to him. So he left her and came to Hood Canal near a mountain. When the man left, his daughter swam after him. Then the girl's grandmother swam after her. She tied a rope around herself and the other end she tied to the house. She turned into a rock and so did the girl. They are an island now with one tree on it. The grandmother had cried so much for her grandchild that "God" turned them into rocks.

THE FLOOD[2]

There was a man who told his people to make some canoes and to make them large and strong so they could endure storms. There was a flood coming. The people said the mountains were high and they could just go up the mountains when the flood came. He warned them again. Soon it began to rain and rained for many days. And the rivers became salt. The people said they would go up the mountains. When the flood came they took their children by the hand and packed the small ones on their backs. It became so cold that the children died. They had no way of getting to the mountains for the valleys were full of water and the rivers overflowed their banks.

The people that walked all died. Those that had canoes and water and food lived. Some who were in a canoe tied themselves to a treetop when their canoe hit the tree and split. Many died. Some tied themselves to mountains and the highest ones were saved. The flood uprooted all the trees. That is why there are no really large ones left today. All the trees of today grew after the flood.

BEAVER AND THE FLOOD[3]

Where Beaver [sk!ean] was living it got very dry. There were only alders growing. They were the softest wood. It got so dry that they did not know what to do. So Beaver sang for rain. He said:

"What am I carrying on my back?

"It's nothing but the guts of a seal that's full of water."

Beaver had his face painted. He called for the rain and cried. Soon afterward it started to rain. He sang again,

"Float all over my land."

Then the rain flooded the country. The frogs and everything else were swimming around in the waters. After the flood his wife was talking to him and said, "What will happen to those who come on earth after we die?" So they

[1] Told by Mrs. Jennie Talicus; interpreted by Celia Cable.
[2] Told by Joe Samson; interpreted by Vera Ulmer.
[3] Told by Mrs. Jennie Talicus; interpreted by Celia Cable.

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put all the water in rivers and lakes for the beavers and left the land for the others.

When the flood became high the ma'ax [a plant like the cat tail] put on more and more layers of clothes. While the flood was on Axa'es came down and turned all the plants and animals into what they are today. While the flood was on the ant kept tying its shawl tighter around its waist. That is why ants have such narrow waists today.

A woman's baby was crying and she went out during the flood. She was a little crab. She called, "Have you any news to tell?" She answered herself and said, "No news to tell, only that good weather is coming, that's all." Then she turned and called, "Little Crab, your baby is crying." So now when a baby cries the Indians sing, "Run to your baby, little crab." She kept on crying, "Come on Little Crab, your baby is crying." She answered herself, "I'm going to the good weather." It was this little Crab's work to make good weather. So the weather changed and the flood dried. Axa'es came down and changed the people into what they are today.

RAVEN AND CROW BECOME ROCKS[4]

Raven [sq!otan] was the brother of the little Crows. The partner of Raven said he wished that many people would come to earth. Raven said, "No, if lots of people come on the earth it will be so smoky that we can't see." They all danced and hugged one another, and held hands. They did not know just what they were going to do. They did not know that Axa'es was coming. Axa'es came and asked them what they wanted to be, a deer, a frog, an elk and so forth. They said what they wanted to be. Some said, "Let us turn into rocks," and they became rocks and they were lined up just the way they danced. They are now standing at Clallam Bay. That was the end of Raven.

THE WINDS[5]

Eastwind was the husband of Westwind and they had several children. When the children grew up the mother fell in love with the eldest boy. She schemed to bring fog to hide herself. She disappeared and was gone for a long time.

One day a nice looking woman came along and made advances to the boy and he fell in love with her and married her. Now and then Eastwind became suspicious and said to his son, "This woman resembles your mother." But the boy said, "It can't be."

The woman bathed every morning. One day the man followed her and found out that she was his wife. He fought with her but the boy stopped them and made them agree to separate. The father was to go east and the woman west. The eldest boy went north and his younger brother went south.

[4] Told by Mrs. Jennie Talicus; intepreted by Celia Cable.
[5] Told by Joe Johnson; intepreted by Johnson Williams.

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It was agreed that it made no difference how hard the northwind blew for if the southwind came he would have to go back.

THE WAR WITH NORTHWIND[6]

The northwind had been blowing for some time and the people could not get any fish. They got together and agreed to go fight the northwind. All the animals went. Skate said, "When I get there the northwind can't blow me away because I'll just stand sideways." He started out for the northwind's house but when the northwind blew he swung around and was blown away. Seagull went next and he was blown away. Then Wren said, "Let me try." They said, "Go ahead." So he started up. Before he reached the house he began calling his name, saying, "I'm Wren, I'm Wren." He called on his spirit power. Wren ducked right under the wind. He rose up and went on. So he kept on going until he got to the house. The doorway was covered with ice. When Wren got in all the others followed. They threatened the northwind and said he must stop blowing so much. Northwind said, "All right, I'll blow just so much." "Oh, no, that's too much," they said. They threatened to kill him unless he blew very little. At last he said he would blow seven days. He said, "If it's very important I'll blow seven days but otherwise I'll blow even less than that at one time. That is why the northwind never blows more than seven days at once and Wren is responsible for that.

THUNDER'S GRANDCHILD DIES[7]

Thunder's daughter went to other people and married a man there. A baby was born. She told her husband they should not let anyone take care of the baby. One time she had an important thing to do so the grandmother came and took care of the child. The child got sick and died.

The mother came home and mourned for her child. She sang:

"Oh my people, oh my people,
That you will continue to do this."

She repeated this several times. She told them that if they had done her will and not taken care of the baby so much, the child would have grown to be a man. But because they came and took care of the baby, people will die more from disease then by natural death.

She got into a canoe and left them. She went back to Thunder. She took herring along to eat. She threw them overboard near Vancouver Island. That is why there are more herring there than anywhere else. She went back to Thunder and now many people die of disease.

A GIRL GETS SUPERNATURAL POWER FROM A STEAMBOAT[8]

In olden times the people used to go out bathing to get supernatural power. A girl was doing this. She got the power of dancing. She was given a long

[6] Told by Joe Johnson and Mrs. Johnson; translated by Johnson Williams.
[7] Told by Mrs. Jennie Talicus; interpreted by Vera Ulmer.
[8] Told by Mrs. Robbie Davis.

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sharp stick which she carried when she walked around and sang. In the morning she walked away from her house and soon she saw a big steamboat painted white. She looked at it and fell down dead. Her body was lying on the ground and her soul was in the boat. The man on the boat told her that the boat was full of sickness, smallpox and measles. So she got more power out of that. The man took her out of the boat and she woke up and went home.

After a while a Songish Indian went to the south side of the Straits of Juan de Fuca and brought some camas [kloi] in a big canoe. The girl was walking outside singing when the canoe was passing on its way to Jamestown. She called the canoe to come to shore. The people in the boat went right on. The girl was angry. She held out her blanket and all the camas came into it. She went to the house and told a young man to go to Jamestown and invite all the people. The canoe came ashore in Jamestown when the young man arrived. The boys all went to the beach to help pull up the canoe. They were going to take the baskets out of the canoe. They thought the baskets would be heavy and lifted hard but they found them empty.

The young man now arrived and invited all the Jamestown people and the Songish man who had just come. The Jamestown people told the Songish man that if he had not passed that woman it would have been all right. She was very strong and had great power.

This girl had the thunder power and so had her brothers. All these brothers went out hunting whale one day when no wind was blowing. All the people went with them except the women and old men. All the children were playing outside. Some wild Indians came and stole the children. The women heard the children crying and they ran out but they were all gone. They could not do anything.

This girl asked for her brother's feathers and also for the boys' bows and arrows and their bone war clubs. She put a club in her belt and put black paint on her face. She told the women to follow her for she was going to find those Indians. She started out running and when she got close to them, she shot her arrows. When the Indians got tired they let the children go. One of her brother's little boys was so small that the Indians would not drop him because he was so light to carry. So the girl kept on chasing them. Then she took her club and swung it. That is the lightning of today. The rain fell heavily. At last she got the little boy.

Her brothers out at sea started talking. "Let's go home, our sister is having trouble." All the brothers knew that their sister was making the lightning. They went home and they found out from an aunt what had happened. The girl said, "This is my last dance: I am going to leave this stick." She walked into the middle of the house and planted the stick there. It grew like a tree. The tree was forked at the top just like a house post. The girl said "Many people are coming after us and they will try to get this power."

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THE BLACKFISH[9]

Blackfish [Aiowasaks] could not get along with his wife. They had one boy about twelve years old. The man got tired of his wife so he decided to take the boy with him, because he did not want to leave him with this mean woman. They went into the woods and came to a lake. He thought he would look for a guardian spirit. He fasted and bathed and rubbed himself. He thought he was ready. He told the boy to stay where he was until he returned. He took a rock and jumped into the lake. He sank to the bottom and fell on the roof of a house. He heard someone asking what had hit the roof of the house. He was surprised to hear someone say, "That was Aiowasaks." These people were blackfish. They invited him in and gave him something to eat. One day he fell asleep and when he woke he heard people outside the house as tho they were lifting something heavy. Then they were quiet. He went out for he thought they had a whale. He saw nothing but a diver. He asked what they were trying to move. They said they wanted to move the whale, but it was nothing but a diver duck. He took the duck by the leg and moved it. They thought he was a great man to be able to move such a monster. They asked him what power he wanted. He said he wanted to be a great spearsman and he wanted a bow and arrow. They gave all this. Then they wondered how to send him home. They opened a door in the house but they thought it would be too far from his home. So they opened another door in order that he might come out nearer Port Discovery Bay. He started going thru this tunnel and he became unconscious. He landed on the spit at the Bay.

In the morning the people noticed the sea gulls all settling down on something out on the spit. They sent out three men in a fast canoe. They found Aiowasaks lying on the beach as if he were dead. Everytime he vomited the fish scales the blackfish had fed him, the gulls came and ate them. Since then the Indians go where they see some gulls. The men put Aiowasaks in their canoe. One walked a little way on the beach and found the spear and another found the bow and arrow. They put them in the canoe and started out for the village. Every so often one of the men would raise his paddle to tell the people that they had good news. The people all came out to see. As soon as they came close enough the men shouted that they had Aiowasaks. The village had missed him and thought he was dead.

The men carried him into the house and put him on his bed. His wife fixed the mats and did everything to make him comfortable. He told them where the boy was and they went right out with torches to find him. When they found him he was almost covered with bird feathers. His cry turned into a song and he became a doctor when they brought him home.

[9] Told by David Prince.

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THE OFFENDED HERO[10]

A newly married couple slept all the time. The girl's father poured urine over them, saying, "The people will talk about you lying there all the time." The young man was very rich. He was very much offended and put on his clothes and went away. He went into the woods and never came back. Before he left he asked his grandmother for some grease. She gave him halibut grease and fern roots.

He walked on until it became dark. He took out a mussel shell and found a little fire in it. He built a big fire and all the animals came to the fire. A wild man took some of the charcoal and threw it against the sky. He came close to the young man and tried to throw some charcoal at him. That day the young man did not see what he wanted among the animals so the next day he travelled again. He dug a big hole and built a fire. Many animals came. He was not satisfied so he kept on traveling. He got to the top of the mountains. That day he saw a big house in the middle of a valley. The house was built of stone. He went over to see what he could see. When he went into the house he found that it was the house of Thunder. The young man jumped into the house. Thunder folded his arms and looked at the boy. He was startled and he looked at the boy for a long time. Then he asked the boy what he wanted. He repeated his question several times. He asked the boy what he wanted and showed him many things, clothes and weapons. The boy never said a word. Then Thunder asked him again what he wanted. He asked him twice and then he offered him a spear. The boy never said a word. Thunder asked him again, "What do you want anyway?" So Thunder picked up a piece of ice and asked, "Is that what you want?" The boy said, "Yes." So Thunder gave him the magic spear with the ice on it and told him that he should lift it in hunting and it would get anything for him that he wanted. Thunder told him to eat nothing that he captured in this way because it would be full of blood. He must never take home what he hunted but bathe for several days. Then before he went home he should go to a different tribe. Thunder did not want him to go home at once when he caught something because if he did the people would be killed.

The boy did as Thunder told him. He went into a house at night and the people never saw him. Then he saw his youngest brother and he told him to go and tell his grandmother that he was at a certain place with a family. The little boy told his grandmother that his brother was at a certain place and wanted her to come to him. The old woman whipped the little boy and said, "Your brother has been dead a long time." She said this because the boy had been away so long. She went over to the house anyway and she saw the boy. He said to his grandmother "Come here and sit on this log." The old woman said, "Is this really you?" The boy said that he had come home again. He told her to go home and sweep the house and tell his uncles to go and get rope of cedar and burn the bottoms of the canoes to make them

[10] Told by Mrs. Jennie Talicus; interpreted by Celia Cable.

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swift. When they worked on the canoes it did not take long to finish them. They prepared a bear skin for the boy's blanket.

When they went out he sat in the canoe with this blanket over him. They saw a great whale coming. The whale came to the canoe and they killed him. The boy told the people that they should not eat the meat. They started to move on and look for more. The next day they went out and took the piece of ice the boy had. They saw another whale and when the boy held up his piece of ice the whale fell dead.

The people were all glad for they had been starving. They took their daughters and sisters and wanted the boy to marry them. They had plenty to eat after that.

MUCUS BOY (First Version)[11]

A mother had seven boys and one girl. The sister was lost. The oldest boy started out to find her but did not return home. The second went out but did not come back. The same happened to all the others. The mother was left alone.

The mother was crying and throwing the mucus of her nose on the ground. She heard a baby cry. She looked and there was a baby where the mucus had been. She picked it up.

The baby grew very fast. In a day or so he was a big boy. His mother told him not to go out in the woods. Very soon he grew to be a man and he went into the woods. He found the bodies of his seven brothers piled up in the brush. He found his sister a prisoner in the woods with a mountain lion (?) for a husband. When the lion went to hunt he put the girl on a pitchy stump. A baby had been born to her which was two-faced. When the brothers came to the sister she always warned them to go back home.

When the lion returned the two-faced child would say, "My uncle was here today." "Did you give him meat?" the lion would ask. "There was no meat here," the girl would answer. Then the lion would say, "I will follow and give him some meat." So he would overtake each of the brothers, kill them by tearing out their hearts and throw the body in the brush.

Mucus Boy knew all this. He put smooth stones over his heart. The same things happened to him, but when the lion tried to tear out his heart he bent his nails on the stones. Mucus Boy killed him and cut him open. He took out all the hearts of his brothers and put them back into their bodies. This made them come to life. The eldest was the hardest to revive because he had been dead the longest, but Mucus Boy spit on him until he finally came to life.

They all went back to the sister. The two-faced child said to Mucus Boy, "Shoot my hand." "No," said the man. The two-faced child called him names and finally said, "Mucus." The man turned away with his hand over his face. He shot arrows until they reached from the earth to the sky. He twisted these into a rope and climbed up and was never seen again.

[11] Recorded by Evelyn Geisness at Jamestown. Told by Johnson Williams.

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MUCUS BOY (Second Version)[12]

A girl was out walking in the woods and met a nice young man chewing some white gum. He said he would show her where she could get such gum. He took her to his home. He was Mountain Lion. He stuck her on a pitchy stump so she would not escape. Later he married her.

When she disappeared one brother at a time went out to search for her. When one brother did not return the next would go. They found the place where she was and as each came she said to him, "Go home, or the beast will get you. Hurry back!" Mountain Lion was out hunting. Their child was double-faced. The girl told the child, "Don't say anything to your father about my brother." As soon as Mountain Lion came in the child told him, "My uncle was here." Mountain Lion said, "Have you given him anything to eat?" He took some tallow to carry to the man. When he met him he said, "Here is some tallow for you." When the man turned Mountain Lion scratched out his heart and ate it. He threw the body in the brush.

The mother of the brothers and the girl cried because they had all been killed. She blew her nose. She heard a baby cry. A child had developed from her mucus. The boy grew fast. He was called Smun. Soon he was old enough to go out. He started off into the woods, and prepared himself by putting flat stones on his chest and back.

The girl did not know him when he came to her. She asked him, "Where did you come from?" She told him all her brothers were killed. He did not want to go away, but hid behind the door. Mountain Lion jumped on him and his claws bent back on the stones. Mucus Boy killed Mountain Lion. Then he found the bodies of all the brothers who had been killed. He took their hearts out of Mountain Lion and put them back in their bodies. Then he chewed a plant and sprayed their hearts. The eldest brother had been dead the longest time and so he was the hardest to bring to life.

Mucus Boy took his sister home with him. She took the two-faced child with her. One day the child said to Mucus Boy, "Shoot my hand." He did so and the child called him, "Smutk'sen."[13] He became angry and made arrows. He shot an arrow chain from the sky to the earth. He swung the chain and changed it into a rope. He climbed up the rope and disappeared in the sky.

They tried to kill the two-faced child but could not do it. They threw it into the fire but it jumped out.

MUCUS BOY (Third Version)[14]

Some women were picking berries when the youngest girl was lost. A mountain lion came and got her. The sister of the girl followed her tracks and she saw her with a man. She ran to her people and told them that her

[12] Told by Johnson Williams.

[13] This means "made of mucus" and therefore an insult.

[14] Told by Jennie Talicus; interpreted by Celia Cable. This version was told two weeks after she told the fifth version of Mucus Boy.

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sister had been stolen by a man. The people got their bows and arrows ready to follow.

They followed and came to the place where the girl was. She told her people to go back because the man had turned into an animal. He was away from home now but he would kill them when he came back. So they all went home.

When the man came home from hunting he carried a whole elk, or else it sounded like one when he dropped it. He cut up and dried the meat. He smelled around the house and said, "It smells as tho someone had been here, some Indian."

Soon after the girl came to this man she had a baby which grew very fast. It had two faces. The girl's brother came to her after the child was born. She told him not to come back because the child would tell on him. The boy said he would come back anyhow. The boy hid somewhere and when the man came home the child said, "My uncle was here." The man went out again and the girl tried to kill the child. She buried her in the fire, but it did not die. When the man came home the child said, "My uncle is still here." The man smelt around again and he called to the brother to come out. This time the boy jumped out. The man asked him what he wanted, and offered to give him everything in the house. He would not take anything except his sister. So he decided that he must get rid of the man.

The boy walked away and a voice said to him, "Turn back," and when he turned there was the man turned into a mountain lion. The lion turned and scratched him over his heart but did not hurt him. When the lion saw that he could not hurt the man he went home. The girl's brother followed the lion and just as he was going into his house he shot him with his bow and arrow. Then the brother took his sister home and burned the house of the lion.

MUCUS BOY (Fourth Version)[15]

A woman had ten boys and one girl. When the girl reached puberty her mother told her not to go up the river to bathe. The girl began thinking, "I don't know why my mother doesn't want me to go up the river." She thought she would try to go. She took her clothes off and walked in the water and she went right up the river. When she finished bathing she went back to her clothes and she saw a man sitting on them. The girl thought, "That's why my mother did not want me to come this way."

As she thought the man repeated to her just what she thought. The girl thought, "What shall I do?" The man said the same. The girl thought, "It is best for me to take this man for a husband." As soon as she thought this the man stood up and danced and laughed. The man was big and ugly and had a sharp tail. He gave her her clothes and she put them on. The man took the girl on his back and packed her to his home.

Her mother and father said to their sons, "Your sister is lost now." The

[15] Told by Mrs. Robbie Davis.

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oldest boy tried to find her. He found her but the girl said, "You had better go home right away or you might die. This man is very bad." The man was not at home then.

When the brother had gone the man came home. He had caught a deer. As soon as he came in he said, "There was a person here. I smell it." The girl said, "There was nobody here." The man took the fat of the deer and said he would give it to the guest. He walked out.

The girl's brother tried to run but he could not. The man went after him and said, "My brother-in-law, you had better take this with you." The brother turned and the man pulled out his heart and swallowed it. He took the body on his back and packed it to the house where he put it on a high shelf.

The mother and father got tired of waiting for their son to come back. The next brother tried to find the girl. He found her and she said, "You had better go home at once. See, your brother is dead there."

The brother turned and went home. Just a little later the man came home and said he smelled someone. Now the girl had a baby boy who had a sharp tail like his father.

The next brother tried to find his sister. He got there and saw his sister. She showed him his two brothers dead and told him to run home. The man did the same thing again.

The others tried to find her. They found her and the same thing happened. The man did the same thing. The girl now had another baby, a two-faced girl.

The others all found their sister. As soon as the man came home, the two-faced girl told him, "My uncle was here." The man did the same thing. When all the boys were lost, the mother and father were crying. The mother cried day and night. She kept throwing her mucus in one place. After that it cried and became a baby boy. She stopped crying and picked up the baby. The boy became strong and grew very quickly. The stolen girl had another baby, a girl. When the boy got strong, he asked his father for a bow and some arrows to shoot the birds. He played around and was smart at shooting. The boy asked for a stronger bow. He went out and shot a deer. He didn't know what it was. He said to his father, "I shot something with big eyes, come and see it." The man went out and saw it was a deer. When he got home the boy asked his mother why she had her hair cut short. She would not tell him because she did not want to lose him.

The boy grew to be a man and he said, "I think I'll take a walk." His mother would not let him go but he went away into the mountains and he saw the house of his sister. He went to it. When he opened the door his sister did not know who he was. She said, "You had better go home. My husband is very bad. See, there are all my brothers who my husband killed."

He did not want to go away. He stood close to the door. A little while later the man came home. As soon as he saw the young man he started to laugh at him. The man asked him why he had come. The young man said, "My mother and father are so poor. I am out looking for medicine."

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The man said, "I'm going to eat you." The young man was not afraid and just stood still. The man started to touch his heart. As soon as he touched his chest his fingernails broke off. The man turned and tried to spear the boy with his tail. The young man moved and shot him with his arrow. The arrow went right thru his head. He died at once.

The young man cut the dead man open and he saw his brothers' hearts just like new. He took them out. The oldest one's heart was getting spoilt. The boy took all the bodies of his brothers from the shelf and put their hearts back. The oldest one would not come to life. So the young man went out to find some rotten cedar and he made a heart of that. He put it in the body of the oldest and it just fit. He went out and took a medicine, chewed it and then spit on all the dead persons. They got up. The ten brothers came to life again. They did not know that the boy had given them life. The girl did not know him either.

The young man said to them, "Pick up your things now and come home." The girl packed her things. They walked out and the young man said, "Don't take your boy along. We are going to burn the house with him in it." She said, "All right." They took only the two-faced girl along. They burned the house with the boy in it. The ashes flew away and turned into little animals.

The young man told them to come home. When he got home he rubbed over his mother's head and her hair grew again. The next day the two-faced girl was playing with some children and she killed one little girl. The young man said, "It is best if you take your girl away." He made a great fire and put some rocks in it. When the rocks were hot he put them in a canoe. He put the girl in the canoe and let it drift. The canoe was burned thru by the hot rocks and it sank. The girl died.

The young man was so smart he caught everything. His little sister asked him to shoot her hand. "See if you can shoot my hand when I hold it up." She asked him so many times that he took his arrow and shot right thru her hand. Then she cried, "You are not my brother, you came out of my mother's nose." Her mother tried to stop her.

The young man was hurt so he went out to his canoe and slept. He slept till evening. His mother said, "Go wake your brother up." The young man said, "I am not going in any more. I am going to leave you." His brother asked where he was going and the young man said, "I am going to the moon." So the brother left him and he slept again. In a little while the mother came down. When she got there he had gone, nothing was left but the blankets. He had gone to the moon and became the man in the moon.

MUCUS BOY (Fifth Version)[16]

A young woman was digging clams when the tide was out. The Qweētcen took her out to his house. On the way she took off her clothes and put them piece by piece on the trees. Her people found out that she had been kidnapped.

[16] Told by Jennie Talicus; interpreted by Vera Ulmer.

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Her oldest brother went out to look for her. He found the clothing hanging on the trees and he followed it. He found her in the Qweētcɛn's house. She told him not to stay and he left.

The Qweētcɛn's son said, "My uncle was here." The Qweētcɛn caught up with the boy and killed him. He took out his heart but did not eat it. All the other brothers of the girl were killed in the same way.

The mother mourned. She put all her mucus in the bark of a tree. She saw it becoming a child. In a few days it sat up. In a few days it walked. Then he went to the woods and stoned birds. He brought home the skins for his mother and she made clothes for him. Then he got a bow and arrows. His mother told him not to go into the woods, saying that his brothers and sister had all been taken by a Qweētcɛn. He said he wanted to go and he went.

He got to the Qweētcɛn's house and went in. They heard a big noise. Something had hit the house. The boy hid. The Qweētcɛn came in and sniffed around. He said, "I smell a person. Come out of your hiding place." The boy came out. The Qweētcɛn had long fingernails and he grabbed for the boy's heart. When he did this the fingernails just turned back. The boy had flat stones on his breast and back. The Qweētcɛn's strength was in those nails and he got weak so the boy killed him with his arrows.

The boy told his sister to come home. They left the son in the house and burned it. The son died. On the way home they found the bodies of the brothers who had been killed. They were all lying together. The boy took each heart and put it back in the body and they all came to life again. They all went home and were happy.

The boy became a great hunter. One day the youngest boy who had no sense said to him," Oh, you're a great one; you're made of bits of mucus." He said, "You're great" but he pulled him down by calling him mucus. So the boy was hurt and he went out and shot arrows into the sky.

MUCUS BOY (Sixth Version)[17]

A girl was sitting by the sea when a handsome young man came, chewing some fine white gum. She wished that she had some like it. He refused to give her his but offered to take her to the tree where he got it. So she went in the woods with him to get the gum.

He had magical power to make himself look handsome but he was really Grizzly Bear. He had lots of gum and he made her sit on it so she could not get away. He married her and they had a child.

The girl had many brothers and one came to look for her. He got to the house but she told him to go home because her husband would kill him. Grizzly Bear came home and the child said, "My uncle has been here." He repeated this until his father said, "When was he here?" "Only a little while ago." Grizzly Bear had been out hunting and he said, "I will follow him

[17] Told by Boston Charlie; interpreted by Vera Ulmer.

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and give him some game." He followed his wife's brother, killed him and took out his heart to eat.

The next brother came and found his sister in the same way. He was also killed. This happened until the girl's mother had no children left. She mourned for her children. Every time she cleaned her nose the mucus seemed to move around slowly as though it had life. Every time she cleaned her nose now she did it in the same place. She gathered it all together and it became a baby and grew fast. When he was a young man he asked for a bow and arrows, and he went out. A few minutes after he came back with a deer. When he was grown to full manhood he went out to look for the beast that held his sister.

He came to the house and the girl told him, as she had told the others, to go home. He stayed. Grizzly Bear came home and the child told his father that his uncle was in the house. Mucus Boy had hidden behind the house post. Grizzly Bear dragged him out and was going to kill him. Mucus Boy had flat stones on his breast and back. Grizzly Bear could not get at his back so he started a big fire but Mucus Boy put it out with fern roots. Grizzly Bear built a second fire and Mucus Boy put that out too. Then Grizzly Bear became weak and Mucus Boy killed him with his arrow.

Then Mucus Boy found some oil and loosened the pitch that held his sister. They started to go home and came to the place where the youngest brother had been killed. Mucus Boy had some medicine so he brought him to life. He brought each brother to life as they came to them. Only the oldest one did not live.

As they walked on the child of the girl and Grizzly Bear followed. They killed him and a few minutes after he came to life again. They smashed his head between rocks and still he lived. Then they took out his entrails and hung them on trees far apart. Then he died.

The family settled down again all together. The mother was happy to have all her children again. The youngest was Mucus Boy. The youngest of her real children was a girl and she said to him, "You are not our mother's real child; you are made of mucus." Mucus Boy was very much hurt and he went out and made a chain of arrows from the earth to the sky. He took hold of the chain and went home to the moon.

He had come down just to save his brothers and sister and because the youngest girl called him mucus he went home again.

GUM HUSBAND[18]

Two girls walking in the woods took some gum out of a tree and chewed it. After chewing it a while they took it out and looked at it, and said, "Oh, this gum is so white." They made it into a figure of a boy and said, "How would it be to have a husband like this white gum?" They stuck it in a tree and went home to bed.

[18] Told by Mrs. Robbie Davis.

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Somebody came to one of the girls at night. The girl asked the man who he was. He said, "I am the gum you were chewing." The girl said nothing. After a short while she gave birth to a boy.

The man went to live with her. He went out fishing in the ocean. When the sun came up the woman called to her husband to come home. One morning she did not wake up before the sun rose. It was high in the sky when she got up. She ran out and called to her husband, but it was too late. The man could not get to the shore, he melted in the sun. Half the canoe was full of gum.

The woman's two boys grew up and one day they asked their mother what had happened to their father. Their mother would not tell them. The next day the boys went duck hunting with another man. They asked the man about their father. The man would not tell them. The boys became angry and said they would kill the man. They tried to cut his head off and the man became frightened and told them that the sun had melted their father. They let the man go.

They went home and made bows and many arrows. They went out and started to shoot the sun with their arrows. When the oldest had shot all his arrows the younger one started. They made a chain, one arrow shot into the next. The younger boy took the end and swung it around. It now looked like a cedar rope. The younger boy climbed up. He said, "When I'm at the top, I will shake the ladder and then you can come." He reached the top and shook the rope. The older boy climbed up.

Now they started walking in the sky and they saw a little house in the distance with smoke coming out. They went there and found two old women, Fisher and Bluejay. They were both blind. They were cooking Indian carrots (saqwaq) and Camas. When one dish was cooked one woman passed it to the other. The boys took it from her as she was passing it. They passed the other dish and the boys took that too.

One woman asked the other, "Did you get what I gave you?" The other said, "No." The first said, "There must be someone here who is taking our food away." So she took a stick and tried to hit the stranger. The younger boy said, "Don't hit me, grandmother." After that the other boy said, "Are you blind, grandmother?"

One of the boys went out of the house and got some medicine. He chewed it and put it on the women's eyes. He asked whether they could see now. One woman said, "I can see the other side of the ocean." The boy said, "You can't see that far, you just see your eyelashes." He put some more medicine on their eyes and they got well and could see.

The old women asked where the boys were going. They said that they wanted to see the "highest man." The women gave them some carrots to eat. The boys then started out. They met a woman and they asked her how far it was to the "highest man." The woman asked, "What do you want to see the "highest man" for? If you go there you will die. The man is too strong."

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They said, "We do not care, we want to see him." So the woman gave them some mussels and she said, "Don't you go in the house first. You go to the water first and climb up a tree and hide yourselves." Then she walked away.

They got to the place and found the water and climbed up a tree that overhung the water. The boys could see their reflections in the water. After a little while some girls came for water. They dipped the water in a basket and they saw the faces in the water. They screamed. The boys jumped down and took hold of the girls.

The girls married them, the older girl to the younger boy. The girls said, "When we go to our father's house you stay close to us; if you don't you will die." They walked home and the boys now saw the stone house that belonged to the Sun. When the girls walked in the doors opened. They jumped in and the boys jumped quickly after them, or else they would have been smashed in the door. It was very hot in the house.

The girls said to their father, "Why don't you say something to these boys? We want them for our husbands." And the Sun said, "All right, let the boys go out in the morning and shoot some ducks for me." The girls told the boys not to go. "Our father wants you to die," they said. But in the morning the boys went out and shot ducks. They went far from the house and while they were shooting a wind came up and blew hard. The girls began to cry when they saw the spray of the salt water flying up. Then one said, "It looks as if a canoe were coming." The others who were watching said, "It is a canoe." The boys got back safely and had lots of ducks. The old man said, "This is the first time I have seen men like you. I did not think you would come back safely."

Then the Sun started to make a fire to kill the boys. The house was very hot. The boys suffered from the heat so they took out the mussels and threw them into the fire. They did this four times and put out the fire. Then the Sun gave up.

After this the Sun asked the boys to go out and get some salmonberries. They took small baskets with them. The man laughed at them. When they got back they gave the salmonberries to the Sun to eat. He took all the berries in the basket in one hand and put them in his mouth. He looked into the basket and saw that it was still full. He took another handful. He saw it was still full. Then the man was ashamed for laughing at the boys. He kept on eating the berries until his stomach got so full that he burst.[19]

The younger boy said that he was going to take the Sun's place and the elder one was to be the moon. The younger said, "I am going to try." He took some of his wife's menstrual flow and put it on his brother's face. His brother got weak from it so the younger boy said, "I think I will be the moon. Take some and put it on my face." He did not get weak. So he said, "I am strong; I am going to stand that. I will be walking at night and all the women

[19] The story as first related ended here. Three days later when I came for more stories Mrs. Davis offered the remainder of the tale, saying she had forgotten it on the previous occasion.

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will think of me when their menstrual period comes. They are going to count how many times I come out when they are pregnant." So he told his elder brother to be the sun and work in the day time.

Now the younger boy is the moon and the elder, the sun.

A GIRL MARRIES A SEA BEING (First Version)[20]

Two girls sat on a grassy slope where a creek ran into the sea. The blackfish came in there. The girls saw them and one said, "I wish that was my husband." At night the blackfish came to the girl and stayed with her. The next morning he went away again. She sat by the water again and wished for the fish as a husband. Every night the fish came to her. At last her people suspected that she had a visitor.

She took a canoe and went to the sand spit where the lighthouse at Port Townsend is now. At night the fish came to her canoe. It was this fish-man that she called her husband. He asked her to go with him. At first she refused but then she went along. He pulled her under the water.

After a while many fish floated ashore at the village of her people. The whole village of Hadlock had plenty of fish. Soon she visited her people. She had some seaweed on her face. Her people asked her not to come back. She visited them again and there was more seaweed on her face. After a while they found a little fish, half human. They thought it was the girl's child and buried it. Now the people are always quiet when they pass a certain place because they are afraid KEkanEtu will pull them down.

A GIRL MARRIES A SEA BEING (Second Version)[21]

At Port Crescent, Freshwater Bay, there were two girls out on the beach digging clams. One saw her shadow and said, "Isn't it pretty? I wish it were my husband." The girls were wading and each went her own way. One girl looked back and saw her sister wading up to her hips. She called to her, "Look out, you are wading too far." The other, Ts'atsimo, answered, "I'm not wading out, I'm being carried out." She went on until she disappeared.

The other girl ran home and told her people. They looked for her on the beach but they could never find her.

The girl went under the water and it took just a minute for her to get to the house of her shadow, the one she had been wishing for. After a few days the man took her back to her family. She told her people not to be afraid, that she would bring them fish and all kinds of seafood that her husband caught for them. She also told them not to be afraid of anything that might come up on the beach. She went back and sent fish and seafood to them.

She came back again and now seaweed was growing in her hair. When

[20] Told by Mrs. Solomon, translated by her daughter. Mrs. Solomon heard this story from her father who was half Skokomish and half Klallam. She said KEkanEtu was a Chemakum name.

[21] Told by Jennie Talicus; interpreted by Celia Cable.

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she went back she asked her people what they wanted from the water. They wanted seal and porpoise so she sent it to them.

She came back again and her face and body was covered with seaweed. Her people told her not to come again. She agreed for she thought that they might be afraid of her. She told them that her husband was a real human being. When she came to visit her people after this she did not come ashore but they could see her and her husband swimming in the water.

When the tide is far out one can see her house below the water. It is a flat rock. When her people travel past there they call to her to help them so she will know that they are her people and will make the water calm. Sometimes when they go by they see the rock floating on the water.

THE MAGIC DOG[22]

Four brothers used to go out to the prairie to have their dogs fight. The youngest brother always had his dogs killed so that he could not go out hunting. He heard of a person in some other country who had a wonderful dog. So he and Kekaiax, who was his servant, went there. The man refused to part with his dog. Every night he made the dog invisible.

Kekaiax used his magic power on the owner of the dog and made him ill. They left but soon they were called back and asked to doctor the man. Kekaiax said he wanted the dog for pay. In return he promised to give a blanket of bird feathers.

The two went home with the dog. The brothers made fun of the dog, because they could not see it. They went to the prairie again for a dog fight and this magic dog killed all the others. He had a long sharp tail and he hooked the other dogs. He went after game the same way.

Now the brothers plotted against the youngest one and said, "Let's go out over the bar there." They told the youngest brother to go around the bar for ducks. When he was out of sight the others left for shore. The boy was left there and had no way of getting ashore. The water was rising. He had forgotten about his dog. When the water had almost covered the land, Kekaiax, who knew his master had been left, said, "Master, think of your dog." He wished this so hard that the boy thought of his dog. He untied the magic dog and blew him up and threw him out into the water. He went ashore on the dog. On the way to shore the dog hooked a whale. They brought the whale ashore in front of the house and everyone came out to cut it up. They had thought the boy dead. When the brother who sent the boy out was on top of the whale, near the blow hole, the whale ran away.

STAR HUSBAND[23]

Two young girls went out at night. It was a fine evening. They looked up at the sky and saw some pretty stars. The older one exclaimed, "Oh, I wish I had that bright star for my husband." The younger one said she wished

[22] Told by Johnson Williams and Wilson Johnson.
[23] Told by Mrs. Jennie Talicus; interpreted by Vera Ulmer.

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for a dim star that was smaller. The next night they went out again and looked at the sky. It was beautiful. Soon two young men came and stole the girls. They took them to the sky. The dim star was very handsome.

When they reached the sky they got into trouble. There were great fires. Some people were living close to the fire and they told the girls where they could get some mussel shells from which they should take off the seaweed and throw it into the fire. That would put the fire out. They went past that fire and came to another. There were great stones that came together every so often. There were usually people at these dangerous places who told them how to get by. One time there was a great tree beyond some opening and closing rocks. They passed many other difficult places like that. Finally they came to a large opening. They looked down and saw the earth. They were lonely up there and had such hard times that they thought they would get back to earth.

They got some cedar limbs, twisted them and tied them together. They had a large pile of rope and they thought that it would surely reach to the earth below. They let it down. The oldest one came down first. She slid down and got to the bottom. The rope ended in a prairie. She swung the rope around in a circle. It moved only a little at the top. That was a signal for the younger sister to come down. Then the younger one came down. The rope also came down and made a large coil, large at the bottom and small at the top. The rope is still there on the prairie, now partly rotten. It is on Vancouver Island.

CRANE AND KINGFISHER[24]

Crane's wife was Kingfisher. She pretended to be sick and wanted some fish. Crane waded out every day but he couldn't get any fish because he made too much noise with his legs. So he whittled his legs. Every day he whittled some more. He went out to spear fish. Sawbill sang and hinted to Crane that his wife was not sick but that she was going with another man. She only wanted Crane to go fishing so that she would be rid of him.

One day Crane went out but sneaked back and caught the man with his wife. So Crane speared Kingfisher under the anus and that is why Kingfisher has red spots under the wings and why Crane has slim legs.

THE STINGY FATHER[25]

There was a man who had many children. He used to go fishing but every time he came home with his hand tied up, telling his family that his hand was so sore that he could not fish. All his children were thin. Once his wife told one of the older boys to go with his father and see what he did when he fished. The boy found that his father caught all kinds of salmon until his canoe was full. He went ashore, cooked and ate them. Then he went home and said he had gotten none on account of his sore hand.

[24] Told by Wilson Johnson.
[25] Told by Jennie Talicus; interpreted by Vera Ulmer.

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When the man found out that his son watched him he took him across to Vancouver Island. There he set him adrift on a log. The boy drifted out on the Sound. When he passed a village he used to sing. He sang that his father had put him on a log and left him. He mentioned his father's name. When he had drifted a long time he in some way got off the log. When he got home he had much property and gave a big feast, inviting all the people. He also invited his father, and made him sit down in the center of the house when he was giving the feast. When he was sitting there in front of everyone the boy changed him into a stone as punishment. The people were surprised at the power of the boy.

RAVEN EATS FISH ALONE[26]

Raven used to go fishing out in the ocean. His wife and his many children were starving. When he caught many fish he went ashore, cooked and ate them. One day one of his children hid under the seat and watched him. When he had plenty of halibut he put them in the fire. The little boy came and ate them. Raven said to the boy, "There is something good out on that log." There was a gull on the log. Raven took the child out there and left him. He went back to shore and ate the fish.

The boy drifted on the log and cried. He drifted out to the ocean and Sun picked him up. Sun asked him, "What is the matter?" The boy said that his father threw him away. Sun helped him back to the shore. Sun just rubbed his hands all over the boy and he became big and handsome. Sun told the log to drift to a different land. The boy got off the log and saw Kɛkaiax.

Kɛkaiax told the boy, "There are two pretty girls that go around here. One is a rich man's daughter. You take the younger one's dress." The girl's father was a mean man and he whipped the girls' husbands. When the younger one married the boy Kɛkaiax put stones under the boy's feet and on his buttocks. He did this so that now everyone's soles and buttocks are cold. Kɛkaiax took roots and mussels and put them under the boy's arms.

The girl and the boy came to her father's house. When they came in the old man told the boy to sit on a chair. There were spikes of bone on the chair. They would have pierced him if he had not had the stones on. He sat down and broke the spikes. The old man could not hurt the boy because of the things Kɛkaiax had given him. The old man made a fire but the boy put it out by throwing on the roots and mussels. The girl's father told Loon to dive under the water. He told the boy that there was a duck there. The boy shot at it but could not get it. He took a canoe and followed it until he was out in the ocean. When Loon had lured the boy out this far he dove under the water and swam home. Then the old man who had a bear, made it stick his nose in the water and blow. The two girls were crying for the boy. But

[26] Told by John Solomon; interpreted by Margaret Chubby.

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the water was calm in just one little channel though choppy on both sides, so he got home.

After he came ashore the father of the girls said he was going to take him home. So the boy painted the youngest girl's face nicely and painted the other one's face badly. When they brought the boy home his father was so glad to see him. He went out in the water to meet him. The girl with the bad paint looked at the boy's father and he turned into stone. When the younger one looked at him he became alive again. When the older one looked at all the people they turned into rocks. When the younger one looked they came to life again.

DOG HUSBAND (First Version)[27]

A girl lived in a village with many other young people. She was of marriageable age. A visitor came in and she accepted him. Her people did not know that he was there for she saw him only at night, and she did not even know how he looked. In a short time her people saw that she was pregnant. They thought that some of the young men in the village might be her lover.

She gave birth to three male pups and one baby girl. The girl baby had hair on the backs of her hands. The chief decided to desert the village and leave the girl without food and fire. When the people moved away her grandmother put some embers in a horseclam shell and buried it in a certain place.

The girl dug clams for her child and the pups. As she dug she could hear the children playing. In a few days the pups were full grown dogs. When they played they sounded like human beings.

The little girl was on guard at the door and told the pups when she heard their mother coming. One night while she was digging clams with an ironwood digging stick the mother decided to catch them. She put her blanket over the stick and she sneaked away to the house. She saw the little girl ond guard and she jumped on the child and pushed her aside. She saw all the dogskins piled up on the floor; the dogs were fine young men. She took the skins and threw them into the fire. She said, "I am your mother. Here you are fine young men and you've been making it so hard for me acting as dogs."

They stayed human now. One boy became a good hunter, another, a seal hunter and fisher, the third built canoes and made roof slabs. Their mother no longer had to work for they brought all kinds of game and dried it for her.

The people who had left them could see the smoke from all the new houses which the men had built. They wondered what had happened. They sent a fast canoe over to see how this woman had gotten along. They were surprised to find these fine men instead of the pups they had left. Before they went back the woman loaded their canoe with dried meat. When they came home the people were ashamed for having left the girl. They wanted to go back.

The boy who had become a fisherman had the power to bring a wind

[27] Told by David Prince.

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whenever he wished it. The people got ready to go back to their old village. On their way over the fisherman called the wind. The sea was rough and all drowned except those in the canoe with the girl's grandmother.

DOG HUSBAND (Second Version)[28]

A group of girls were picking berries when they saw a house. One said, "Let us go over there." They went and in the house they saw two big dogs with lots of puppies. One girl said, "Let us not touch them, they are not dogs, but some other animal." The youngest girl liked the dogs, but she too left them. One puppy followed her. The others said, "See what you have, you have some spirit power."

So the girl picked up the pup and took him home. The pup squealed just like a little dog. When she took him away the other dogs started to cry. When the girls got home she hid the puppy under her dress. Some one noticed it and said, "What is the matter with you?"

Shortly afterward she said, "My puppy is licking me all over; he is lickiing my belly." So the other girls said, "Throw it away." The girl could not find it. It had gone inside of her.

When they reached home the girls told that the youngest girl had taken a spirit power into her clothing. The people said that they had told them not to go to that place because there were many spirits about there. They started talking about it and soon the girl began to vomit blood. The people looked at her; her stomach began to swell up and soon she died.

Shortly after there was a woman and her husband who saw the same dogs while they were hunting. She told her husband that it was one of those that the girl had picked up. They turned away. They saw many holes in which the mother dogs lived. They only put their heads out of the holes; one never saw their bodies. After this all the Indians were afraid of these pups and never touched them.

DOG HUSBAND (Third Version)[29]

A woman living at Washington Harbor had some children who were not human but were dogs. The children could talk so their mother could understand them. They wanted to go out hunting and kill deer for food. Their mother did not think that they could do it. They broke off a stick and went out and killed an elk. When she saw this she brought them down to live where the other people were living. They got bows and arrows and brought game right down to where the people where living and shot it there. They killed all kinds of game except the grizzly bear.

When their mother went out to dig clams at low tide she always heard them singing and talking like human beings. She could never catch them this way; they were always in animal form. One day she was on the beach

[28] Told by Mrs. Jennie Talicus; interpreted by Celia Cable.
[29] Told by Boston Charley; interpreted by Vera Ulmer.

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and she heard them singing, so she put a stick in the ground and hung a blanket around it. Then she went carefully toward the house. One always stood on guard at the door to warn the others. She came before he could warn them and she saw their dog skins on the floor by the fire. After she caught them in this way they remained human.

KEKAIAX MAKES SALMON JUMP INTO HIS CANOE (First Version)[30]

KEkaiax was walking along the beach. He saw a salmon jumping up from the water. "Come to a poor man like me." The salmon jumped closer and closer. At last he was on the beach. "Come on to a poor man like me." After that the salmon came right to the shore and KEkaiax took it. KEkaiax went ashore and roasted it. He fell asleep while it was roasting. Two young men came and found the fish roasting. They put the bones between KEkaiax's teeth and ate the salmon. The two men were really wolves. They took KEkaiax's anus away with them.

He got up and looked for his salmon. He said to himself, "I must have eaten it." For he found the bones between his teeth. Then he saw the condition he was in. He realized that the wolves must have been there.

KEkaiax came to Devilfish, his grandmother. He asked for her slime. She did not want to lend it to him because she was afraid he would lose it. She lent it to him and then he also borrowed the little hairs on the salmonberries. Then he chased the wolves and soon caught up with them. When he saw them they were having a feast and a dance. They were singing and they were to dance with KEkaiax's anus. He went in as an old man, very weak. Someone said, "Better give that old man a seat." KEkaiax refused to take a seat but said, "I'll sit right here." He sat down right in front ready to take his anus. Someone saw his actions and said, "This must be KEkaiax." So he said, "How can an old man like me jump at anything?" So they let him stay. Soon after he jumped up and took his anus and ran away.

KEkaiax had many grandmothers. Rat or Mountain Beaver was one. She was under the ground and dug down and made the ground thin. When the people who pursued KEkaiax came to this place they fell into the holes she dug. This held them back. This happened many times so they let KEkaiax go.

KEKAIAX MAKES SALMON JUMP INTO HIS CANOE (Second Version)[31]

KEkaiax was fishing in a canoe out at sea. He saw a salmon jump up in the water. He said, "I wish I were a fish. If I were a fish I would jump in a canoe." He kept on saying this until the fish came over and jumped into his canoe. Whenever he talked like that he got game.

[30] Told by Mrs. Jennie Talicus, interpreted by Vera Ulmer.
[31] Told by Mrs. Joe Samson; interpreted by Vera Ulmer.

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KEKAIAX MAKES SALMON JUMP ASHORE[32]

KEkaiax was walking close to the salt water and saw the spring salmon jumping. He said, "If I were a spring salmon I would go to a poor fellow who has nothing to eat." The spring salmon jumped closer to the spit. So KEkaiax said, "If I were a spring salmon I would jump still closer to the shore." And the salmon jumped on the spit. KEkaiax ran after him and clubbed him. He cut the fish into six pieces and roasted them on a stick. He fell asleep while the fish was roasting.

The wolves came to the beach and saw the fish. They came to the place where it was roasting and the youngest said, "This is KEkaiax asleep while his salmon is roasting. We will eat it." So all the wolves took the salmon. When they were through eating they took some of the grease and put in on KEkaiax's hands and mouth and put the bones in his teeth. Then they cut off KEkaiax's anus and ran away.

KEkaiax woke up and saw his fish gone. He started talking to himself and said, "What is the matter with my fish? Maybe I ate it;" he looked at his fingers. Everytime he moved and talked his little partners talked inside of him. He slapped his buttocks and then stood up and felt his buttocks and found out what had happened to him. He saw the kelp drifting and he asked him if he had seen the people who had injured him. The kelp said nothing. KEkaiax said, "If you don't tell me I will whip you." The kelp did not speak so KEkaiax jumped in and swam toward it. He got tired before he reached the kelp so he went back. He asked the shells on the rock if they had seen anyone. They said nothing. KEkaiax said, "I will smash your face." He got no answer so he started battering the shell until his hand bled. He said, "See, this is your blood," but it was really his own.

After that he went to Rat and asked who had injured him. Rat said the wolves did it. KEkaiax asked if he would help him to make a tunnel to the wolves' house. KEkaiax went to the devilfish and borrowed his dress. He tried it on and he looked like a different person. Then he went to the wolves' house. They were playing ball with KEkaiax's anus. They said, "Look at this old man coming." They made him sit down to watch them play. The youngest said, "I think that is KEkaiax." The others said, "No, he is too old." He said again, "I think that is KEkaiax."

KEkaiax sat down and the boys threw the ball. KEkaiax jumped after it, seized it and ran away. The youngest said, "I told you it was KEkaiax." They chased him but KEkaiax jumped into Rat's tunnel. They stood still not knowing where to go. KEkaiax came out further on and they started running again. KEkaiax went in the ground again so the wolves got tired and gave up chasing him.

[32] Told by Mrs. Robbie Davis.

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KEKAIAX'S SALMON IS EATEN[32]

KEkaiax had caught a large spring salmon and he roasted it by the fire. He laid down and slept. Eagle came along and saw the salmon and ate it. He stuck all the little bones in KEkaiax's teeth. KEkaiax woke up and saw the salmon gone. KEkaiax said, "I must have eaten my salmon; I have all the bones in my teeth."

KEKAIAX MAKES DAY AND NIGHT[34]

KEkaiax went to a graveyard. He was on the warpath. He got someone to come to life. That is why we have day and night because he raised this person from the dead.

KEKAIAX HALF REVIVES HIS BROTHER[35]

KEkaiax went on the warpath and he put his little brother under a log because the little boy could not stand the hardship. When he came back the little boy was dead, only the skeleton was left. KEkaiax chewed some herb and spit on the boy's face. Half of him came to life and got flesh but half remained skeleton. And KEkaiax said, "Oh, my poor boy, half of you is alive and half is not."

KEKAIAX GETS FIRE[36]

It was through KEkaiax that the Indians got fire. He captured some children and told the parents that they could not have them back until they gave him fire. They offered him all kinds of treasures but he asked for fire. So they gave him fire sticks and now the Klallam have fire.

When[37] KEkaiax stole the child to get fire as a ransom he passed the houses of many people. Then he would make the child cry. If it did not cry he would pinch it. When crying it would tell its father's name. The people said, "That is that man's child."

KEkaíax came to a deserted village. He went into a house and put on the clothes of the people who had lived there. These clothes were made of feathers. He went through each house and put on the clothes. The people who were following the child saw a man coming out of each house with other clothes on so they thought it was always another man. They were afraid then to go after the child.

A CHILD POINTS TO KEKAIAX AS ITS FATHER[38]

This happened at Washington Harbor. There was a girl who had just become mature. She gave birth to a child and nobody knew who the child's

[32] Told by Joe Samson; interpreted by Vera Ulmer.
[33] Told by Joe Samson; interpreted by Vera Ulmer.
[34] Told by Mrs. Joe Samson; interpreted by Vera Ulmer.
[35] Told by Mrs. Joe Samson; interpreted by Vera Ulmer.
[36] Told by Mrs. Joe Samson; interpreted by Vera Ulmer.
[37] This part of the story was related as an afterthought.
[38] Told by Mrs. Joe Samson; interpreted by Vera Ulmer.

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father was, for she was not married. Her parents gathered together all the people to find out who was the child's father. They were all painted. They brought the child into the circle and let it crawl to the one who was its father. It passed everyone who was dressed fine.

There was one old man who sat by the doorway. He had the slime of the devilfish all over him and it was running out of his eyes. The baby crawled past everyone and stopped in front of him. The people did not like him because he was so dirty. They made the baby start again. It crawled past everyone and went right into the old man's lap. When the child came he said, "You have come to your father."

This old man was KEkaiax and he had borrowed the slime from the devilfish.

NOKUIMEl CHANGES KEKAIAX[29]

All the people heard that a man was coming to change everything. KEkaiax heard about it and he got ready so when the man came KEkaiax went with him. The man turned and said, "I do not want you to come with me." He touched KEkaiax and changed him into rotten wood on the ground.

After a short time KEkaiax got up and started to call to this man and said, "Turn around and look at your dead stick." And he walked behind the man. Then the man turned again and he touched KEkaiax, making him a high mountain. Soon KEkaiax said, "Just turn around and look at your mountain." He was standing up again. The man walked on and KEkaiax walked behind him. This man hated KEkaiax and he turned and touched him, making him a fine little sand spit for he wanted the next people to use him as a landing. Soon KEkaiax called, "Just turn around and look at your spit." The man left KEkaiax but KEkaiax still followed him.

Then they came to a little house and the man went in and found an old woman. She was putting beads on a string and the man asked the old woman what she was going to do with the beads. She put the beads around his neck. The man said, "Go, fly, now," and she flew away as a kingfisher.

They walked away. Soon he turned and touched KEkaiax making him a nice body of water where people would drink when they were walking. Soon KEkaiax got up again and called to the man to look at his water. They came to the next house where a man was filing the shells of big mussels. The first man asked him what he was doing and then he said, "Put them on your head. Now jump." The man who had been filing jumped and became a deer. The mussel shells were his ears.

They walked a while and it was dark so KEkaiax could not see anything. The man left him. Where KEkaiax was it was dark but where the man was it was light. When KEkaiax saw that he was lost he called to the man. He kept on calling until he had passed through the dark place and came into the light again. Now the man got tired of having KEkaiax follow him and he

[29] Told by Mrs. Robbie Davis.

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said, "All right, you come along with me." The KEkaiax was with the man and watched what he was doing.

The man changed all the people and all the places they came to. And the last place they came to there were many empty houses. Just one woman and one little boy, her grandson, lived there. The man asked this old woman, "What is the matter with the people?" The woman said, "The devilfish in our spring catches every person who goes for water." The man asked the woman for a bucket so he could go for water. KEkaiax went behind him, watching. The man went to the spring and took water in the bucket. As soon as he turned around one of the devilfish's legs came up and twined itself around his waist, trying to pull him down into the water. When he was sinking in the water he called to KEkaiax, "Oh brother, save me." And KEkaiax laughed at him, "Go on and die; don't say anything." The man said, "Don't say that; save me."

KEkaiax had mussel shell knives under his arms. The man was under the water now. Then KEkaiax went after the bucket which the man had dropped. He took it and as soon as he turned around the legs of the devilfish got him. So KEkaiax said, "Suppose you take me right in your stomach." The devilfish swallowed him. In the stomach he started moving around. The devilfish was cut by the knives which KEkaiax had so he died. So KEkaiax saved the man. The devilfish was twelve feet long and KEkaiax took him out of the water and cut him up. When he finished he threw the pieces in different directions and called the names of all the places all over the world. That is why devilfish are everywhere.

They went to the old woman and told her that the devilfish was dead and she could get water whenever she wanted.

KEKAIAX KILLS HIS MASTER (First Version)[40]

KEkaiax was a servant to Deer. Deer was so fat that KEkaiax thought he would be good to eat. So KEkaiax killed Deer and ate him.

KEKAIAX KILLS HIS MASTER (Second Version)[41]

Elk was sick and he had nobody to keep his fire and get wood for him. A nice man came along who offered to get wood and keep the fire going. This man was no other than KEkaiax. He kept the fire going while Elk was sick. KEkaiax took a stone knife and stuck it into Elk. Elk had his back to the fire. He suffered terribly. Everytime KEkaiax put wood on the fire he said, "I wonder what is the matter with my master."

Elk died. KEkaiax said, "I wonder what killed my master. He is dead." The people wanted to bury Elk but KEkaiax said, "Do not bury him too deep. Use me for a blanket for my master."

[40] Told by Mrs. Joe Samson; interpreted by Vera Ulmer.
[41] Told by Mrs. Jennie Talicus; interpreted by Vera Ulmer.

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The people let him be a blanket for his master. But after they were all gone he cut up Elk and cooked and ate him, having a feast all by himself.

KEKAIAX AND THE GIRL ACROSS THE LAKE[42]

KEkaiax was walking along and thinking, till he came to a place where he heard people singing and calling to each other. He saw some girls playing. He looked around and said, "What is all the noise about?" There was a big river that was just like a lake. KEkaiax had a companion. KEkaiax became afraid and said to his companion, "Where shall we go?" He said, "Let us go up." Then they went up they saw many girls. KEkaiax thought he was lucky to see so many girls. The river was wide and his companion said, "How are you going to get there?" His companion went up the river to look for a place to cross. He stayed away a long time and when KEkaiax looked up again he saw him across the river. KEkaiax called, "How did you get across?" The partner said, "I got across up above." KEkaiax called to him to come back. He came back and KEkaiax asked him which one of the girls was the daughter of a rich man. KEkaiax started to wish that this girl would go out swimming.

A short time after, the girl went out swimming. He wished that the girl would look up while she was swimming. At last she looked up and said, "Why don't you come across?" "How can I get across?" he asked. He wished to get across and the water started moving. The girl called him. At last the river got rough and he walked across.[43]

The girl went to her people and said, "This old man would be good for chopping wood." So they went out to get him. KEkaiax stayed there in the village but he did not live in the same house as the girl. After he was there a short time the girl gave birth to a child. Then she said, "This old man would be good for taking care of the baby." So KEkaiax came and rocked the child, his own child. The baby was a boy. The father of the girl asked her who the child's father was. She said she did not know. Her father said they would invite all the people and the baby should look for its own father.

So everyone was invited. They took the baby out of its cradle and it went around the house looking for its father. KEkaiax was old, his eyes were full of sores. The baby went to him and put its hand on his lap. They said that the child must be mistaken so they put it on the floor again. This time KEkaiax picked up the child and claimed it as his own. So they made him marry the girl. He took his wife and child and travelled with them. When they came back the girl's father found out who KEkaiax was.

KEKAIAX IS SWALLOWED BY A WHALE[44]

Once KEkaiax was fishing but he could not catch anything. Everybody else caught plenty of fish. A whale came along and KEkaiax said, "Why

[42] Told by Mrs. Jennie Talicus; interpreted by Celia Cable.

[43] An explanation added after the story was finished: when the girl was swimming KEkaiax had intercourse with her. That is why the water was rough.

[44] Told by John Solomon; interpreted by Margaret Chubby.

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don't you bite my line so I can catch you?" Kekaiax got very angry with the whale. The whale came again and swallowed Kekaiax and his canoe.

When Kekaiax got in the whale's stomach he saw fish there and he caught them and hung them up to dry. Kekaiax was glad to be there because there was plenty to eat. When he was running around in the whale's stomach he got caught on the whale's heart and he fell down. He became angry and he cut the heart off. When the heart was cut it hurt the whale so much that he jumped around in the water and died. He floated around. Kekaiax was still inside drying fish. At last the whale drifted ashore. By this time Kekaiax had no more fur on him.

While he was still in the whale he heard a noise as though somebody was making a canoe. He called from inside the whale. The people heard him and went to the whale. They asked, "What is the matter?" Kekaiax said, "I caught a whale." But it was really the whale that had caught Kekaiax. The people said they would cut the whale open. When they did so Kekaiax ran out and did not care for the whale he had caught.

KEKAIAX STEALS A CHILD (First Version)[45]

Kekaiax was tired: the wind was blowing all the time so no one could go fishing. All the people were starving. Kekaiax made up his mind to find out where the dead people were. He walked all day and all night until he came to a lake where he saw houses on the other side. Some of the dead people saw him and came to get him in a canoe. They got there and they called him to come. Kekaiax stepped into the canoe which had a large hole in the bottom so one could see the water under it. But the water did not come through the hole. Kekaiax asked where the chief lived. When he got there he asked the chief if he might be his slave. The chief said, "Yes." He told Kekaiax to look after the baby.

When it was night Kekaiax slept under the place where the baby was hanging. When the baby cried he pulled the rope of the cradle. On the fourth night Kekaiax stole the baby. Nobody woke. He took it over the water in the canoe. At every place where there were Indians Kekaiax pinched the baby to make it cry. The people came out to look. In the morning the parents found that the child was stolen. Some of the people said, "We thought that was Kekaiax." So the chief took some of his people and pursued Kekaiax. They came to a place where people had heard the baby crying; these told them that the baby had passed.

When Kekaiax got home he told his grandmother who lived alone with him to sit down outside and watch while he painted his face and put feathers on his head. Kekaiax told the house that when the chief came it should make a noise as though there was a crowd inside. As soon as the parents of the child came around the point they heard the noise. The father was afraid for he thought there were many people in the house. As soon as they landed on the

[45] Told by Mrs. Robbie Davis.

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beach Kekaiax came running out of his house. He ran in and came out again with other feathers on his head. He looked like a different man each time. So the father of the baby just watched. He did not come up on the beach. Then Kekaiax told the house to stop making a noise and to listen to the chief. He told his grandmother to listen to the chief.

The chief started to talk and said, "If that man gives me my baby I will give him everything he needs." But Kekaiax would not let the man have the child. One of the friends of this chief said, "You had better give this man fine weather and a fire." So the chief said, "If you give me the baby I will give you fine weather and fire." Kekaiax said, "That is what I want."

So the old woman took the baby down and the chief gave her a clam shell with fire in it and a long stick of alder to make fire. Kekaiax got fine weather and all the people went out fishing and they had fire. They laughed when they said, "All the people that come after us will be all right. They will have fish and fire." If he had not gotten that there would now be wind all the time. Kekaiax went fishing and he kept the fine weather in his little canoe. He went away and left the canoe tied to some kelp. Some one came and stole half of the fine weather. If Kekaiax had not lost it, it would have been fine weather all the time; that is why the wind comes sometimes. Kekaiax got this from the dead people.

KEKAIAX STEALS A CHILD (Second Version)[46]

Kekaiax knew there was something mighty somewhere across the water, so he started toward it. He took along his little brother. They travelled until they came to the place where he knew the thing was. He did not take his little brother to the place, but put him under the canoe nearby. This thing was Yolmux. He asked for wisdom in taking care of children. He was given what he asked for. He used his wisdom right there on Yolmux's child and rocked it and sang to it all the time.

One time he took this baby and ran off with it. He came to the canoe where his brother was. He lifted up the canoe; his brother was dead. He said, "I must have stayed long." He took some medicine, chewed it and put it on the child's face. The boy came to life. Kekaiax said, "Wake up, my little brother, I have a baby here." They started out and at each village Kekaiax told his brother to pinch the baby so it would cry. It cried and said, "I am Yolmux's child." The people would say, "That child must have been stolen." At every village the same thing happened. Then they came to their own village and he went to his grandmother. Kekaiax told her about the stolen baby.

Yolmux followed with his people looking for the child. At every village some one got up in the canoe and asked if they had heard a baby crying. The people said that such a child had passed. Kekaiax put on fine clothes and many feathers to look like a great man. When the people came one stood up

[46] Told by Mrs. Jennie Talicus; interpreted by Vera Ulmer.

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in the canoe and asked for the child. Kekaiax asked for all the things the people needed to live. He wanted less stormy weather and fire and things to eat. Then Kekaiax gave the child back to Yolmux.

THE BIRDS AND THE WIND[47]

A strong wind blew all the time and all the little birds were in danger. They decided to go to a war against the wind. Kekaiax was their leader. All the birds started out.

Wind had a companion who had horns. Wind used to give the Two-horned One a log to carry up to his place. Kekaiax and all the birds went into a cedar log and drifted to the shore. Wind gave it to his partner to carry. It was very heavy so when he came to a rock he dropped the log. It broke in two and the birds came out. Kekaiax and the Two-horned One fought. Kekaiax wanted to throw him on the rock.

The Two-horned One started a fire to burn Kekaiax and the birds. Kekaiax got a tree that was hard to burn. He threw it on the fire and the fire went out. The Two-horned One started another fire and Kekaiax put it out in the same way. When the Two-horned One saw that he could not get a fire started he fought with Kekaiax hand to hand. Kekaiax threw the Two-horned One on the rock and killed him.

The Wind was alone and he blew. The birds and Kekaiax went toward the Wind but each time they were blown back. Only Wren could go forward. Wren hid in a hole in the ground. Kekaiax was blown back farthest because he was the largest. Wren always hid in a hole further forward. At last he reached Wind. By that time Wind did not have much strength left and so Kekaiax and the birds followed Wren. Kekaiax asked Wind how long he would blow. He said one hundred days. Kekaiax held him and said that was too long. He made him promise to blow less and less until he came to ten days. Kekaiax told him he would kill him if he did not keep his promise. At last Wind said he would blow only two days. Then Kekaiax freed him.

SLAPU STEALS CHILDREN[48]

Not so long ago some children were swimming on a point across from the village. There was a hunchback among them. While they were swimming Slapu captured them all. She had a bag on her back in which to carry the children. She put the hunchback in the bottom, thinking that he would be a nice pet for her daughter. The hunchback worked his way to the top. He hung on a branch and Slapu walked away beneath him.

Slapu got home and told her daughter that she had a pet for her. She took out all the children but found him gone. She ran to the beach and saw him paddling out in a canoe. She threw rocks at the paddles. The last paddle had holes and the stones went through the holes. He got ashore and Slapu went home.

[47] Told by Boston Charley; interpreted by Vera Ulmer.
[48] Told by Johnnie Cook; interpreted by Johnson Williams.

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She started a fire and closed the children's mouths and eyes with pitch. The oldest girl closed her eyes tight and only the edges of her eyes were stuck so she could see through them. Slapᵘ danced around the fire. The oldest girl pushed her into the flames. Slapᵘ screamed for help, but the girl held her down. Her ashes flew up and are in the trees now.

When Slapᵘ was dead the oldest girl made the children hold hands and walk home. When they got home their parents had their hair cut short. They used elk tallow to get the pitch out of their eyes.

That is the end.

SLAPᵘ STEALS A GIRL[49]

A little girl was hungry and cried for something to eat. Her parents gave her nothing. While she was still crying someone came in and offered her some dried fish. What Slapᵘ really had was only a stick. When the child reached for it Slapᵘ grabbed her and dragged her away. She took the child home and to keep her from escaping she put pitch on her eyes.

The parents searched in every village for the child and when they could not find her they decided that Slapᵘ must have taken her.

The little girl cried all the time. During the day Slapᵘ was usually gone. If she was gone one day she slept all the next day. One day a man from the child's tribe went out to look for a cedar tree. He found a good one, then as he went on a better one and each one he found was better than the one before. He came to a clearing and saw smoke. He went to the house and found the little girl. He asked if she was the child who had been stolen. She said, "Yes," and told him that Slapᵘ slept one whole day and that he should come that day and kill her.

He went home and told her relatives. They prepared to go for her. Everyone, even the women had spears. They started out the day Slapᵘ was supposed to be asleep. They carried some oil to get the pitch off the child. They found Slapᵘ asleep, making a terrible noise, snoring. Some went in and helped the girl get away. Then ten men went in, five on each side, and speared Slapᵘ. But she broke all their spears. Then ten more went in and she did the same. The last ten succeeded in killing her. That is why Slapᵘ disappeared from this world.

When they came to their own village the girl wanted all the little children to come to her. They gathered all the children for her. She took a stick and speared them and ate their hearts. Her uncle said to her mother that this could not happen again and that they must get rid of her. She slept just as Slapᵘ did, every other day. The people got a big canoe and loaded it with blankets. They put the girl in it and covered her up. They commanded the canoe to go to the end of the world. The canoe obeyed. It went very fast, just like flying, until it came to the end of the world where the sky and land meet.

[49] Told by Johnnie Cook; interpreted by Johnson Williams. The informant stated that this was another story about Slapᵘ and did not regard it as the same as the preceding.

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When the girl woke up she had drifted ashore. She walked up into the woods and saw a prairie with something moving on it. It was an animal, a raccoon, digging for wild carrots. The raccoon had a hard time digging these carrots. The girl pulled them out easily. Raccoon went home alone; the girl said that she would come the next day. The following day the girl pulled up many carrots for Raccoon and went home with her. When Raccoon returned home her husband said, "How did you get all these?" "Go outside and bring in the person who did it." He went out and took the girl by the hand and brought her into the house. She saw lots of dried meat and fish in the house. The husband asked whether she wanted some dried fish or meat to eat. She said she wanted fresh fish. So he went fishing and he told her not to look when she heard a splash. He went out and soon she heard a splash, but she did not look. He came in with a whale. She wanted to know how he did it. So when he asked her again whether she wanted fresh or dried fish she said fresh. He went out and caught a whale. She heard a splash and jumped up and looked. The whale got away.

SLAPᵘ STEALS A CHILD (First Version)[50]

A tribe of Indians lived at Sequim Bay. Slapᵘ came and took a baby boy away. She walked up the bluff. The child cried and the woods there disappeared and in their place the prairie appeared. She went further and the child cried again. Another prairie appeared. She went on and the child cried for a long time. That time Sequim Prairie appeared. The child cried again but Slapᵘ walked on and it cried as she walked so a long prairie was made.

She went to her house in the mountains. The child grew fast. He called the Slapᵘ mother. One time he asked, "Mother, make me a bow and arrow." She said, "Don't call me mother." She wanted to raise him to be her husband. She made a bow and arrow for him and told him not to go far. She was afraid he might find his way back. One day he found a road. Later he suspected that Slapᵘ was not his mother.

Slapᵘ went out every day to get food and as she went she hung her heart on the road that led out. One day he went there and saw the heart. When he saw the heart he knew what it was there for and he shot it with his arrow. Slapᵘ felt it and ran home.

The boy ran until he got down to Sequim Bay. When he found the place his people had all gone. They had moved away when they lost him. The only person he saw was Ts!atsqwehe who was fishing. The boy called to him. When he came ashore he saw that this was the boy who had been stolen. He asked the boy if he had been stolen. He said he must have been. The boy asked for his people. Ts!atsqwehe said that the people must have gone around point beyond the spit where the deserted houses were. Ts!atsqwehe took the boy to the spit and he ran along the beach to find his parents. The boy told

[50] Told by Wilson Johnson.
[51] Now this place at Washington Harbor is bare.

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Ts!atsqwehe that Slap^{u} was running after him. Ts!atsqwehe started fishing again.

Soon Slap^{u} appeared on the beach. She called Ts!atsqwehe and asked to be taken across. Ts!atsqwehe said he had seen no boy. Slap^{u} said, "You must have seen him. I saw his tracks on the beach." Slap^{u} insisted on being taken across but Ts!atsqwehe said his boat leaked. Slap^{u} said that made no difference. Ts!atsqwehe said she should pull out some grass.[51] While she did this he pulled a knot out of the bottom of the boat. The water began to run in. He went ashore and took Slap^{u} in. He told her to stay at one end. She put her grass down and lay on it. They pushed away from the shore. Ts!atsqwehe fished awhile. He found a crab. Before he speared it he sang:

"What shall I do with Slap^{u}?"

She suspected that he was referring to her and said, "What are you saying?" Ts!atsqwehe said, "Don't pay any attention to me. I am just singing a song of my own." He speared the crab and told him, "You go, bite the beast." The crab crawled toward Slap^{u} and she saw it coming and said, "Call that crab back; it's coming after me." It bit her privates. Ts!atsqwehe said, "Don't pay any attention to the crab that is what they do. Just move back." She moved back so far that she finally fell overboard. She screamed, "Save me, save me." Ts!atsqwehe pretended to be excited. He went to the end of the canoe and poked her down. He said, "You are so heavy, I can't lift you." She sank and now there is a whirlpool there.[52]

SLAP^{U} STEALS A CHILD (Second Version)[53]

A baby was crying and Slap^{u} came. She had a piece of bark in her hand and she said it was fish. She stole the baby and took it up the prairie. As she carried the baby a prairie was made every time it cried. The baby was a boy. She kept him a long time and he grew bigger every day. He called Slap^{u} mother and she said, "Don't call me mother, call me wife."

The boy said, "Make me an arrow, wife." She was glad and made him one. He went out and shot a deer. Later he said, "Make me an arrow, mother." She got angry and did not make any. Then the boy ran away and came to Washington Harbor. There was a man, Ts!atsqwehe, who said, "Get into my canoe, your people have just gone around the point." He took the boy over to the spit.

Slap^{u} came and asked the man to take her over. He said, "My canoe leaks." She said she would get some grass to put in the canoe. The man speared a crab. He sang to himself, "How can I get rid of this Slap^{u}?" He told the crab to bite Slap^{u}'s feet. Slap^{u} was afraid and moved further up in the front until at last she fell in the water. It still bubbles where she drowned.

[52] Because she broke wind. The whirlpool is within the inner harbor south of the spit.
[53] Told by Mrs. Solomon; interpreted by her daughter.

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THE CANNIBAL[54]

Qweētcɛn[55] was going after the children on the spit at Washington Harbor. Crane was there and Qweētcɛn wanted him to take her over, but Crane had a sore knee and could not do it. Qweētcɛn insisted that Crane take her over to the spit. Crane picked her up and when he got to the middle of the water he pretended to fall on account of the sore knee and dropped Qweētcɛn. She drowned.

THE THUNDERBIRD[56]

Whenever the Thunderbird moved his wings it thundered. This bird had a belt made of a snake and when this snake stuck out its tongue there was lightning. When the thunder shook hard the snake fell into the water. Then it crawled up a tree and burned the tree.

This power could also make it rain. One time the Klallam had some enemies pursuing them and a man called on the thunder. It rained so hard that the enemies turned over their canoes and got under them. The Klallam then attacked and killed them.

WAR WITH THE QUINAULT[57]

A young girl was picking crabapples on the east side of the mouth of the Elwah River. She was singing up in the tree and her grandparents heard her and said they did not want to be talked about. She should stop singing and come down. She said she would not come down because she could see the Quinault all painted black and ready to make war. She had a wolfskin quiver full of apples and she spilled it. Then her grandmother sent up some food to her. She said she would die up there.

The Quinault gathered all the children together and killed them by cutting them in half. One boy hid under a bluff and escaped. He ran back and told his people.

One woman of the Ēēnis spit near Port Angeles dressed like a man when the Quinault came for her children. She tried to make her voice sound like a man's. When they came she said she was a certain woman's husband. The Quinault were frightened and let the children go for she threatened to kill them.

[54] Told by Boston Charley at Elwah; interpreted by Vera Ulmer.

[55] Qweētcɛn is called Slapᵘ by the Jamestown Klallam. It is often visualized as a grizzly bear.

[56] Told by Johnson Williams.

[57] Told by Mrs. Joe Samson; interpreted by Vera Ulmer.

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ABSTRACTS

THE PEOPLE WHO BECAME ROCKS[58]

A man leaves home because his wife does not treat him well. His daughter swims after him and she is followed by her grandmother who ties a rope to the house and herself. The old woman and the girl are turned into rocks and become an island with one tree on it.

THE FLOOD

A man warns the people of the coming flood and tells them to build canoes. The people say they will go into the mountains. The rain begins, the rivers swell and become salt. The people cannot get to the mountains because the valleys are flooded. Many people die. Some tie themselves to mountains.[59] Those on the highest peaks are saved. The flood uproots all trees. *That is why there are no large ones today.* All our trees grew after the flood.

BEAVER AND THE FLOOD

Everything is very dry so Beaver paints his face and sings for rain. A flood comes and everyone is swimming in the water. Beaver's wife asks what the people who are coming to earth will do. So Beaver puts all the water in rivers and lakes for the beavers and leaves the dry land for the people. During the flood Ma'ax puts on more layers of clothes. Axa'es comes and changes the animals into what they are today. Little Crab asks herself when good weather is coming and tells herself that her child is crying. *That is why when a child cries the Indians say, "Run to your baby, little Crab."* She makes the good weather return.

RAVEN AND CROW BECOME ROCKS[60]

Raven is the brother of the little Crows. His partner wishes for many people in the world but Raven says that it would make the world too smoky. They dance hugging each other when Axa'es comes and asks them what they would like to be. Some choose to be rocks and *they now stand at Clallam Bay.*

THE WINDS

Westwind, the wife of Eastwind, falls in love with her oldest boy and disappears to come again as a fine looking woman whom the boy marries. Her

[58] Cowichan: Boas, *Sagen,* 45,46.
Lower Fraser River: *Ibid.,* 28.
Puyallup: Ballard ms., "How Xode Turned the People to Stone".
Shuswap: Boas, *Sagen,* 4, 17.
Southern Puget Sound: Ballard ms., "Blanket Rock".
[59] Bella Coola: Boas, *Sagen,* 243.
Comox: *Ibid.,* 95.
Sk!qomic: *Ibid.,* 57.
Tsimshian: *Ibid.,* 278.
[60] See above, footnote 58.

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former husband grows suspicious and follows her when she is bathing. He fights with her until the boy separates them and the man agrees to go east, the woman west, the boy north, and his younger brother south. They agree that the northwind can blow as much as he wants to as long as the southwind comes to counteract him.

THE WAR WITH THE NORTHWIND

Northwind is blowing so the people cannot fish. They agree to attack the wind. Skate says he can go up to the house because when the wind blows he will stand sideways. The wind blows him away. Seagull is also blown away. Wren gets to the house by ducking under the wind[61] When he goes in the others follow. They make the wind agree to blow seven days or less at one time. *That is why it never blows longer now.*

THUNDER'S GRANDCHILD DIES

Thunder's daughter marries a man in a strange tribe and when their child is born she says that nobody should take care of it. When she goes on an errand the child's grandmother comes to care for it and the child dies. The mother mourns and says that if the child had been left alone it would not have died. *Since then people die more of disease than from natural causes.*

A GIRL GETS SUPERNATURAL POWER FROM A STEAMBOAT

A girl who is bathing for supernatural power gets the power of dancing and is given a long sharp stick which she carried around as she sings. One day she sees a steamboat painted white. She falls down unconscious, her body on the ground and her soul in the boat. The man on the boat tells her that it is full of smallpox and measles. This gives her great power. She wakes and goes home.

While a Songish man is passing with a canoe load of camas destined for Jamestown she calls him and on receiving no response opens her blanket and all the camas come into it. She sends a man to Jamestown to invite all the people to a feast. He arrives at Jamestown at the same time as the Songish. The people tell him that if he had not passed the girl who was so powerful he would not have lost his camas.

While her brothers who have the thunder power which she also has, were out hunting whale some Indians stole all the children in the village. The girl takes her brothers' feathers, bows, arrows and war club and painting her face black starts out after the Indians. She shoots arrows and they drop all the children but one. She swings her war club and there is lightning and rain. *That is the origin of our lightning.* The brothers seeing this go home. The girl plants her stick which grows into a tree and predicts that people will try to get this power.

[61] See footnote 143.

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THE BLACKFISH[62]

Aiowasaks could not get along with his wife so he leaves her and takes his boy with him. He goes to a lake and dives for a guardian spirit. He comes to the blackfish. He moves a diver duck for them which they think is a whale. He asks for a spear, a bow and arrows. His people see gulls near the end of a spit and go out to what is there. They find Aiowasaks unconscious on the beach. They also find the spear and the bow and arrows. They take him home and go to find his boy whom he had left on the lake shore. They find him covered with bird feathers and he became a shaman when they bring him home.

THE OFFENDED HERO[63]

A man pours urine over his daughter and her newly married husband because they sleep too much. The young man is offended and leaves them. As he is walking he finds a mussel shell with some fire in it.[64] He travels and camps until he comes to the house of Thunder. Thunder asks him what he wants and the man refuses everything that Thunder offers. At last Thunder offers a piece of ice and a magic spear. This the man takes. Thunder tells him not to eat the meat of the animals he catches with this and not to go to his own village because the meat would kill his people.

The man meets his little brother and tells him to go home and tell his grandmother that he has come back.[65] The grandmother does not believe the child but she goes out and finds the older brother. He tells her to go home and sweep the house,[66] and have the men prepare the canoes. They make a bear skin blanket for the man. He puts this on and leads them hunting in a canoe. They catch a whale. With his piece of ice they catch another. The people offer their daughters to the man to marry. They had been starving but now they have plenty of food.

[62] Tillamook: Boas, *Notes on the Tillamook*, 15.

[63] Kwakiutl: Boas, *Sagen*, 151, 162.
Bella Coola: *Ibid.*, 253, 266.
Hare: Petitot, 224.

[64] Skagit: Haeberlin-Gunther ms., "The Girl Who Married a Dog."
Wishram: Sapir, *Wishram Texts*, 139.
Wasco: *Ibid.*, 260.
Quinault: Farrand, 95.
Snohomish: Haeberlin-Gunther ms., "Origin of Death."
Chinook: Boas, *Sagen*, 51; Shuswap, 10; Fraser River, 20; Cowichan, 52; Comox, 93; Nootka, 114; Kwakiutl, 132; Newettee, 180; Bella Coola, 264; Tsimshian, 301.
Tlingit: Krause, 269.
Skokomish: Gunther ms., "Dog Husband."

[65] Snuqualmi-Snohomish: Haeberlin-Gunther ms., "Sun's Daughter".
Tahltan: Teit, 253.
Nootka: Boas, *Sagen*, 122; Kwakiutl, 153; Bella Coola, 266; Fraser River, 37; Songish, 63.
Wiyot: Kroeber, 85.

[66] Wasco: Sapir, *Wishram Texts*, 307.

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MUCUS BOY (Six Versions)

The sister of seven brothers is stolen[67] and all go to find her. [A girl meets a man chewing white gum[68] who offers to show her where it is obtained (2nd, 3rd versions). A girl is stolen by a monster (4th, 6th vers.) and she leaves her clothes on a tree to mark her trail[69] (4th vers.). A girl disobeys orders not to bathe up the river and finds a man sitting on her clothes (5th vers.)].

The brothers are all betrayed by the girl's two-faced child[70] and killed by her husband (1st, 4th vers.), who eats their hearts,[71] (2nd, 3rd, 5th vers.). [One brother finds her, kills her husband and burns the house (6th vers.).] The girl is placed on a pitchy stump[72] (1st, 2nd, 3rd vers.) A child originates from the mourning mother's mucus[73] (1st, 5th vers.). Mucus Boy goes to find his sister, [putting flat stones on his chest[74] (1st, 2nd, 3rd vers.)]. He kills her husband.[75] He revives his brothers by replacing their hearts[76] (1st-5th vers.) and spitting on them(1st, 2nd, 5th vers.). The eldest is difficult to revive[77] (1st, 2nd vers.); [the oldest dies (3rd vers.); makes a new heart for oldest (5th vers.)].

They cannot kill the two-faced child for she jumps out of the fire (2nd vers.). Mucus Boy tries to smash her head between rocks[78] and succeeds by

[67] Bella Coola: Boas, *Mythology of the Bella Coola,* 84.
Kwakiutl: Boas, *Social Organization and Secret Societies,* 372.
Makah: Gunther ms., "Mucus Boy".
Sts' Eelis: Boas, *Sagen,* 28; Nootka, 116; Chinook, 17; Bella Bella, 223.
[68] Kwakiutl: Boas, *Social Organization,* 372.
[69] Nootka: Boas, *Sagen,* 116.
Skagit: Gunther ms., "Coyote and His Wives."
[70] Nootka: Boas, *Sagen,* 117.
[71] Snuqualmi: Haeberlein-Gunther ms., "The Five Hunters", "Wolves and the Flying Squirrel".
Puyallup: Ballard ms., "The Brothers killed by a Monster".
See footnote 150.
[72] Nootka: Boas, *Sagen,* 117.
[73] Tlingit: Swanton, 177.
Haida: Swanton, *Myths and Texts,* 330; *Texts,* 261.
Tsimshian: Boas, *Tsimshian Mythology,* 735.
Bella Coola: Boas, *Mythology of the Bella Coola,* 84.
Kwakiutl: Boas, *Social Organization,* 372.
Comox: Boas, *Sagen,* 84; Nootka, 116.
Makah: Gunther ms., "Mucus Boy".
[74] Shuswap: Boas, *Sagen,* 2.
[75] Tlingit: Swanton, 42.
Bella Coola, Kwakiutl, Nootka, Makah.
Shuswap: Teit, 708.
Coos: Frachtenberg, *Coos Texts,* 109.
[76] Tlingit, Shuswap, Snuqualmi, Kwakiutl.
Haida: Swanton, *Myths and Texts,* 330, 348, 227; Swanton, *Texts,* Swanton, *Masset Dialect,* 642.
Tsimshian: Boas, *Tsimshian Mythology,* 735.
Kwakiutl: Boas, *Sagen,* 160; Boas, *Tsimshian Mythology,* 883.
Nootka: Boas, *Tsimshian Mythology,* 904.
Tillamook: Boas, *Traditions,* 134.
[77] Snuqualmi: Gunther ms., "The Wolves and Flying Squirrel".
[78] Makah: Gunther ms., "Mucus Boy".
Nootka: Boas, *Sagen,* 114.
Ponca: Dorsey, 30.

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hanging her entrails on trees[79] (3rd vers.). Mucus Boy burns the two-faced child (4th vers.). [They burn the girl's child and his *ashes become little animals* (5th vers.).] The two-faced child asks Mucus Boy to shoot her hand and calls him "mucus" for refusing (1st, 5th vers.) [calls him "mucus" for doing it (2nd vers); his youngest sister calls him mucus (3rd, 4th vers.)]. Mucus Boy makes an arrow chain[80] and goes to the sky (1st-5th vers.); [goes to moon (5th vers.)].

GUM HUSBAND[81]

Two girls chew white gum, wishing it were their husband. They mold it into a man's figure. One girl is visited at night by an unknown lover who proves to be this gum-man. She gives birth to a boy.

She lives with the gum-man and fails to call him in from fishing before the rising of the sun, so he melts.[83] His boys ask for their father and finding the cause of his death, seek revenge on the sun. They make an arrow chain[84] and swing it to make look like a cedar rope. In the sky they meet two blind women and take their food away.[85] They restore their eyesight by chewing medicine and applying it to their eyes. They meet a woman who gives them mussels and advice. They climb a tree and the Sun's daughters see their reflection in the water.[86] The boys marry the girls and go to the Sun's house through a snapping door.[87] The Sun sends the boys duck hunting and creates a storm.[88] The boys return and Sun starts a fire which they put out with mussels four

[79] Snuqualmi: Ballard ms., "Moon, the Transformer".
[80] Haida: Swanton, *Myths and Texts,* 330.
Bella Coola, Nootka.
Kwakiutl: Boas, *Tsimshian Mythology,* 883; Boas, *Kwakiutl Tales,* 39.
Snuqualmi: Ballard ms., "Land Otter's Wife".
For distribution of arrow chain see *Tsimshian Mythology,* 864.
[81] Comox: Boas, *Sagen,* 64.
[83] Newettee: Boas, *Sagen,* 179; Comox, 64.
Tlingit: Krause, 265.
[84] See above, footnote 80.
[85] Shuswap: Boas, *Sagen,* 18; Fraser River, 38; Snanaimuq, 55; Comox, 65; Nootka, 118; Kwakiutl, 136; Newettee, 202; Bella Coola, 263.
Takelma: Sapir, *Takelma Texts,* 38.
Ponca: Dorsey, 204.
[86] Comox: Boas, *Sagen,* 66; Nootka, 114; Kwakiutl, 168; Bella Coola, 253.
[87] Chehalis: Boas, *Globus,* 63:3,
Snuqualmi: Ballard ms.
Tsimshian: Boas, *Tsimshian Mythology,* 798; Boas, *Sagen,* 274.
Shuswap: Boas, *Sagen,* 1; Comox, 81; Nootka, 118; Kwakiutl, 136, 166; Newettee, 186; Bella Bella, 228, 239; Bella Coola, 253.
[88] Tlingit: Krause, 257.
Haida: Swanton, *Myths and Texts,* 278.
Kwakiutl: Boas, *Kwakiutl Texts,* 371.
Bella Coola: Boas, *Mythology of the Bella Coola,* 81.
Kathlamet: Boas, *Kathlamet Texts,* 115.

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times.[89] The Sun sends them for salmonberries. The basket is inexhaustible[90] and Sun bursts from overeating.

The younger brother weakens his brother by smearing him with his wife's menstrual flow, *so he becomes the sun and the younger one becomes the moon. Now women think of the moon at their menstrual periods and count the periods of pregnancy by the appearance of the moon.*

THE GIRL WHO MARRIED A SEA BEING (Two Versions)[91]

While digging clams a girl wishes that her shadow were her husband. [A girl wishes that a blackfish were her husband (2nd vers.).] He comes and carries her to his house under the water. Her people find plenty of fish on the beach. She comes back with her face covered with seaweed. Her people ask her not to come again. [Later they find a little fish, half human, supposedly her child (2nd vers.).] She calms the sea for them. [At the place she sank her people always fear being pulled down (2nd vers.).]

THE MAGIC DOG[93]

Four brothers go out on a prairie to have their dogs fight.[94] The dogs of the youngest are always killed. He and his servant Kɛkaiax go to the man who has the magic dog and after Kɛkaiax has made the man ill, he receives the dog as pay for curing him.

When they bring the dog back he kills all the other dogs. The elder brothers plan revenge. They send the boy around a bar when they are duck hunting, and when he is out of sight they leave him.[95] Kɛkaiax thinks so hard of the dog as a means of reaching shore that the thought is communicated to the boy, who blows up the dog and rides ashore on him. On the way the dog hooks a whale. When the whale is being cut up, it runs away with the brother who planned the revenge on his back.[96]

[89] See footnotes 97a and 106.
[90] Shuswap: Boas, *Sagen*, 4; Nootka, 103; Kwakiutl, 154; Newette, 181; Bella Bella, 223, 227.
Luiseño: Sparkman, 35.
Ponca: Dorsey, 138, 139.
Chippeweyan: Petitot, 369.
[91] Puyallup: Ballard ms., "The Girl Who Married a Sea Being".
Skokomish: Gunther ms., "The Girl Who Married a Sea Being".
[93] Skagit: Gunther ms., "Dokᵘibɛł and his Dog".
Wasco: Sapir, *Wishram Texts*, 267.
[94] Chinook: Boas, *Sagen*, 21.
[95] See footnotes 101 and 104.
Chinook: Boas, *Sagen*, 131.
Bella Bella: Boas, *Sagen*, 230.
Tsimshian: Boas, *Sagen*, 288.
[96] Snohomish: Haeberlin-Gunther ms., "Five Brothers", "The Seal Hunters".
Nisqually: Kane, 250.
Skagit: Haeberlin-Gunther ms.
Newettee: Boas, *Tsimshian Mythology*, 867.
Wishram: Sapir, 19.

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STAR HUSBAND[97]

Two girls wish for stars as husbands, the older one for a bright star, the younger for a dim one. The stars steal the girls. In the sky the girls find big fires, which they are told to put out by throwing on the seaweed taken from mussel shells.[97a] They pass opening and closing rocks.[98] They come to an opening and see the earth beneath.[99] They make a rope of cedar limbs and go down to earth, the elder first. She shakes the rope, signaling to the other to come. The rope falls in a coil, *still to be seen on Vancouver Island.*

CRANE AND KINGFISHER

Kingfisher, Crane's wife, pretends to be sick and asks Crane to catch fish for her. Crane makes too much noise with his legs so he whittles them. Sawbill tells Crane that his wife is only feigning illness and sends him out fishing to go with another man. Crane comes home unawares and finds a man with his wife. He spears Kingfisher under the anus so *kingfisher has red spots under the wings and Crane has slim legs.*

THE STINGY FATHER[100]

The father of many children never brings home any fish, claiming that his sore hand prevents him from fishing. His wife sends one of the older boys to watch him. He sees that his father catches all kinds of salmon and eats them. When the man sees that he is watched he takes the boy to Vancouver Island and sets him adrift on a log.[101] The boy drifts a long time, always singing a song telling of his condition when he passes a village. When he reaches home again he gives a feast and changes his father into stone.[102]

RAVEN EATS FISH ALONE[103]

Raven cooks and eats all the fish he catches while his wife and children are starving. One of his boys hides and watches him. When Raven finds the child he sets him adrift on a log.[104] The boy is picked up by the sun who rubs his hands over him and makes him handsome. The boy comes to Kɛkaiax who puts stones on *his buttocks and the soles of his feet because these parts are always cold.* He puts roots and mussels under the boy's arms. The boy marries the younger of two girls and her father asks the boy to sit on a chair with bone spikes.[105] On account of the stones he wears he breaks the spikes. He puts out the fire made by the old man with the roots and mussels.[106] He

[97] For a discussion of this tale see Reichard, 269.
[97a] See footnotes 89 and 106.
[98] See footnote 87.
[99] Thompson: Boas, *Salishan Tales,* 7.
[100] See next tale.
[101] See footnotes 95 and 104.
[102] See footnote 107.
[103] See preceding tale.
[104] See footnotes 95 and 101.
[105] Fraser River: Boas, *Sagen,* 39; Comox, 66; Nootka, 111, 118; Kwakiutl, 136; Newettee, 171.
[106] See footnotes 89 and 98.

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follows a duck the old man shows him and arrives in the ocean. Bear blows the water into a storm. He gets back and paints the face of the younger girl nicely and the other badly. He takes the girls home and when the older one looks at his father he turns to stone and the people turn to rocks.[107] When the younger looks at them they come to life again.

DOG HUSBAND (Three Versions)[108]

A woman gives birth to pups. [A girl takes a puppy under her dress, becomes ill and dies, the dog being a supernatural animal. (2nd vers.). A girl receives an unknown lover and gives birth to three male pups and one human.[109] Her people desert her,[110] destroying everything. Her grandmother leaves fire in a clam shell.[111] (3rd vers.).] While digging clams the mother hears the singing of children.[112] She makes a dummy of her digging stick and goes to the house. She sees her children human and throws their dog skins into the fire.[113] They remain human and become great hunters.[114] [Her

[107] See footnote 102.

[108] Quinault: Farrand, 127.
Kathlamet: Boas, *Kathlamet Texts*, 155.
Tlingit: Krause, 269.
Dogrib: Petitot, 311.
Thompson: Teit, *Traditions*, 62; Boas, *Salishan Tales*, 30.
Cheyenne: Kroeber, 181.
TsEtsaut: Boas, *TsEtsaut*, 37.
Chilcotin: Farrand, 7.
Lillooet: Teit, *Lillooet*, 317.
Lower Fraser: Boas, *Salishan Tales*, 130; Boas, *Sagen*, 25.
Nootka: Boas, *Sagen*, 114.
Kwakiutl: Boas, *Sagen*, 114.
Tahltan: Teit, *Tahltan Tales*, 248.
Wasco: Sapir, *Wishram Texts*, 253.
Central Eskimo: Boas, *Central Eskimo*, 630.
Port Clarence: Boas, *Notes on the Eskimo*, 207.
Baffin Land: Boas, *Baffin Land*, 163.
Assiniboin: Lowie, 224.
Koryak: Jochelson, 183.
Chukchee: Bogoras, 158.
Carrier: Morice, 28.
Bella Coola: Boas, *Tsimshian Mythology*, 784; Boas, *Sagen*, 263.
Comox: Boas, *Sagen*, 93.
Skagit: Haeberlin-Gunther ms., "The Girl Who Married a Dog".
Skokomish: Gunther ms., "Dog Husband".
Blackfoot: Wissler and Duvall, 107.
Arapaho: Dorsey and Kroeber, 205.
Alsea: Frachtenberg, *Alsea Texts*, 124, 136.
Coos: Frachtenberg, *Coos Texts*, 167.

[109] Port Clarence, Baffin Land, Tlingit, Dogrib, Carrier, Chilcotin, TsEtsaut, Bella Coola, Comox, Kwakiutl, Fraser River, Thompson, Lillooet, Nootka, Skagit, Skokomish, Quinault, Kathlamet, Arapaho, Alsea, Assiniboin.

[110] Carrier, Chilcotin, TsEtsaut, Bella Coola, Kwakiutl, Fraser River, Thompson, Lillooet, Nootka, Skagit, Skokomish, Quinault, Kathlamet.

[111] Tlingit, Chilcotin, Bella Coola, Kwakiutl, Comox, Fraser River, Nootka, Skagit, Skokomish, Quinault, Wishram (Sapir, 139).

[112] Tlingit, TsEtsaut, Kwakiutl, Fraser River, Nootka, Skagit, Skokomish.

[113] Tlingit, Dogrib, TsEsaut, Thompson, Lillooet, Quinault, Kathlamet.

[114] Baffin Land, Bella Coola, Kwakiutl, Fraser River, Thompson, Nootka, Skagit, Skokomish, Quinault, Kathlamet, Blackfoot.

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people come back, starving,[115] and all except the grandmother drown on the way[116] (3rd vers.).]

KEKAIAX MAKES SALMON JUMP IN HIS CANOE (Two Versions)

While KEkaiax is fishing he sees a salmon jumping in the water. He wishes the fish would jump into his canoe. He wishes this long enough so that the fish does it.[117]

[While he is roasting the salmon he falls asleep and the wolves steal it and put the bones in his teeth.[118] They also steal his anus.[119] KEkaiax borrows the slime of the devil fish, his grandmother, and disguised as an old man, follows the wolves. They are having a gathering, playing with KEkaiax's anus. He seizes his possession and escapes. His grandmother, Rat, digs holes into which his pursuers fall.[120] (1st vers.).]

KEKAIAX MAKES SALMON JUMP ASHORE[121]

KEkaiax sees spring salmon jumping and suggests to him that he jump on the spit. After two suggestions from KEkaiax the salmon jumps out and KEkaiax clubs him. He cuts the fish into six pieces and roasts him, falling asleep while the fish is cooking. The wolves come along, eat the salmon and put grease on KEkaiax's hands and mouth.[122] Then they cut off his anus and go away.[123] KEkaiax on awakening finds his fish gone and discovers his injury. He asks the kelp and shells who hurt him but gets no answer. Rat tells him that the wolves did it and builds a tunnel to the wolves' house. KEkaiax borrows the devilfish's dress and goes to the wolves' house. They are playing ball with KEkaiax's anus and let KEkaiax who looks like an old man sit and watch them. The youngest wolf says that the man is KEkaiax but the others laugh at him. KEkaiax seizes his anus and runs away, diving into Rat's tunnel. The wolves soon give up their pursuit.

[115] Chilcotin, TsEtsaut, Bella Coola, Kwakiutl, Fraser River, Thompson, Nootka, Skagit, Skokomish, Quinault.
[116] Kwakiutl.
[117] See next tale.
[118] Snuqualmi: Haeberlin-Gunther ms.
Comox: Boas, *Sagen*, 74.
See footnotes 122 and 124.
[119] Comox: Boas, *Sagen*, 74.
[120] Snohomish: Haeberlin-Gunther ms., "Fox".
[121] See preceding tale.
[122] See footnote 118.
[123] See footnote 119.

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KEKAIAX'S SALMON IS EATEN[124]

KEkaiax falls asleep while a spring salmon that he caught is roasting. Eagle comes and eats the fish. He puts all the little bones in KEkaiax's teeth. When KEkaiax wakes he finds the fish gone, but feeling the bones in his teeth, thinks he ate it.

KEKAIAX MAKES DAY AND NIGHT

KEkaiax is on the warpath and goes to a graveyard and raises someone from the dead. *That is why we have day and night.*

KEKAIAX HALF REVIVES HIS BROTHER

KEkaiax goes to war and leaves his brother under a log.[125] When he returns there is only a skeleton left. KEkaiax chews some herb, spits on the boy's face, and half his body gets flesh and a half stays skeleton.

KEKAIAX GETS FIRE

The Indians have no fire so KEkaiax captures some children and demands as their ransom, fire.[126] The parents offer all kinds of things and finally agree to give him fire sticks.

On the way KEkaiax makes the child cry by pinching it.[127] He comes to a deserted village and goes into every house and puts on the clothes he finds there. The people following the child see the different clothes each time and think there are so many men.[128] They are afraid to follow KEkaiax.

A CHILD POINTS TO KEKAIAX AS ITS FATHER[129]

A young unmarried girl has a child and its father is unknown. Her parents gather the people who come well dressed. The child crawls around and stops

[124] Snuqualmi: Haeberlin-Gunther ms.; Ballard ms., "Moon, the Transformer".
Comox: Boas, *Sagen*, 74.
Lillooet: Teit, *Traditions*, 307.
Puyallup: Boas, *Globus*, 63:1.
Thompson: Boas, *Salishan Tales*, 7.
Plains Cree: Teit, *Two Tales*.
Shuswap: Boas, *Sagen*, 7.
Bella Bella: Boas, *Sagen*, 232.
Tlingit: Krause, 265.
See two preceding tales.

[125] Puyallup: Ballard ms., "Mink Traps a Monster"; Snuqualmi, "Mink Kills Slowat".
Comox: Boas, *Sagen*, 74; *Bella Coola*, 255.

[126] Skykomish: Haeberlin-Gunther ms., "Mink Gets Food".
See footnote 141.

[127] See footnote 139.

[128] Lower Fraser: Boas, *Sagen*, 43.

[129] See footnote 136.
Lillooet: Teit, *Lillooet*, 327.
Kutenai: Boas, *Kutenai Texts*, 287 (Nootka, Thompson, Shuswap).
Kwakiutl, Comox: Boas, *Tsimshian Mythology*, 585.
Snohomish: Haeberlein-Gunther ms., *"Origin of the Sweat Lodge."*

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before a slimy old man. They let the child go around again because they do not like the old man. The child stops before him again. The man is KEkaiax who borrowed the devilfish's slime.

NOKUIMEł CHANGES KEKAIAX[130]

When the man comes who is changing everything KEkaiax follows him. The man touches KEkaiax and makes him rotten wood. Soon KEkaiax jumps up and follows. He makes him a mountain and KEkaiax changes back; then a sand spit and KEkaiax resumes his own shape. They come to a house where a woman is stringing beads. The man changes her into a kingfisher. The man changes KEkaiax into a body of water but KEkaiax gets up again[131] Then the man allows KEkaiax to walk with him while he changes all the people and places they come to. At one place it is dark where KEkaiax walks and light where the man walks. They come to many empty houses and find an old woman who says that the devilfish in the spring has eaten all the people who come for water.[132] The man goes for water and is pulled in. He asks KEkaiax to save him but the latter laughs. KEkaiax has knives under his arms. He takes the bucket and is almost pulled in when he asks the devilfish to swallow him. He moves around in the devilfish's stomach and kills him by the cutting of the mussel shell knives.[133] KEkaiax so saves the man. He cuts up the devilfish and throws pieces in all directions *so now the animal is found everywhere.*

KEKAIAX KILLS HIS MASTER (Two Versions)[134]

Elk is sick and wants someone to keep the fire and get wood. KEkaiax offers his services. He sticks a stone knife into Elk who dies. [KEkaiax, the servant of Deer, kills and eats him, (2nd vers.).] KEkaiax asks to be used as a blanket in the burial of his master. The people carry out his wish. When they are gone KEkaiax cuts up Elk and eats him.

KEKAIAX AND THE GIRL ACROSS THE LAKE[135]

KEkaiax and his partner see some girls swimming across a lake. The partner finds a place to cross and KEkaiax asks him to find out which girl has a wealthy father. Then KEkaiax wishes that this girl would swim out. She asks KEkaiax to cross. The water gets rough and he walks across. He stays at the girl's village. She gives birth to a child which at a gathering points out KEkaiax as his father.[136] KEkaiax marries the girl and takes her and the child away.

[130] Snuqualmi: Haeberlin-Gunther ms., "Dokᵘibeł Transforms Mink".
[131] Snuqualmi: Ballard ms., "Moon, the Transformer".
[132] Comox: Boas, *Sagen*, 64; Newettee, 196; Bella Coola, 259.
Takelma: Sapir, *Takelma Texts*, 40.
[133] See footnote 137.
Wishram: Sapir, 41.
Shuswap: Boas, *Sagen*, 3.
[134] Tlingit: Boas, *Sagen*, 315.
[135] See footnote 129.
[136] Fraser River: Boas, *Sagen*, 26; Comox, 73; Nootka, 108; Newettee, 172.

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KEKAIAX IS SWALLOWED BY A WHALE

KEkaiax can get no fish so he wishes that a whale would bite on his line. He is swallowed by the whale and finds plenty of fish in the whale's stomach. He catches and dries them. He cuts off the whale's heart and the animal dies and drifts ashore.[137] All of KEkaiax's fur is rubbed off.[138] When the whale drifts ashore he calls out to the people he hears that he has caught a whale. They cut the whale open and KEkaiax runs out.

KEKAIAX STEALS A CHILD (Two Versions)

The wind blows constantly so the people cannot fish. KEkaiax decides to go to the land of the dead, so he walks until he reaches a lake where the dead people come for him in a canoe that has a hole in the bottom which however does not let the water through. He goes to the chief, asking to become his slave. He is given the baby to mind. [KEkaiax takes his little brother and goes to a powerful being to ask for wisdom in taking care of children. (2nd vers.).] He steals the child entrusted to him (Wind's child, 1st vers.) Every time he passes a village he pinches the child to make it cry.[139] [When he returns he finds his brother whom he left under his canoe, dead. He revives him by chewing an herb and putting it on the boy's face. (2nd vers.).] The child's people follow KEkaiax. When they come KEkaiax comes out dressed as a chief and asks for less stormy weather. He runs in the house and changes his clothes to appear as a different person.[140] He tells the house to make much noise. [The chief offers KEkaiax fire in a clam shell and a *stick of alder to make it with.*[141] (1st vers.).] KEkaiax keeps the fine weather but one day someone steals half *so the wind blows half the time now.* (1st vers.)].

THE BIRDS AND THE WIND[142]

The birds set out with KEkaiax as their leader to make war on the wind because he blows too hard. Wind has a partner, the Two-horned One who always carries logs for Wind. KEkaiax and the birds hide in a cedar log. When the Two-horned One carries it he drops it and the birds come out. The Two-horned One starts a fire but KEkaiax throws on a tree that is hard to burn and puts it out. Then KEkaiax and the Two-horned One fight and the latter is killed.

The birds try to approach the wind but he blows too hard. Only Wren

[137] Kathlamet: Boas, *Kathlamet Texts,* 65.
See footnote 133.
[138] Alsea: Frachtenberg, *Alsea Texts,* 123, 165.
Kathlamet: Boas, *Kathlamet Texts,* 35.
Coos: Frachtenberg, *Coos Texts,* 31.
Tillamook: Boas, *Notes on the Tillamook,* 13.
[139] See footnote 127.
[140] Lower Fraser: Boas, *Sagen,* 43.
[141] See footnote 126.
[142] Green River: Ballard ms., "War Against the Chinook Wind."

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goes forward by hiding in holes in the ground.[143] When Wren reaches the wind, the latter has lost his strength and all the birds and Kɛkaiax rush up. Kɛkaiax holds Wind until he promises to blow only two days.

THE STOLEN CHILDREN[144]

Slapᵘ steals some children, a hunchback among them. He clings to a branch overhead in the forest and escapes. She pursues him and seeing him in a canoe throws stones at the paddles. The last paddle has holes in it and the stones go through them.[145] He escapes.

She returns home, closes the children's eyes with pitch,[146] starts a fire and dances around it. The oldest girl pushes her on the fire and holds her down till she is dead.[147] The girl leads the children home and the pitch is taken off their eyes.

SLAPᵘ STEALS A GIRL

The parents refuse to give food to a girl crying for it so Slapᵘ comes and offers the child some fish.[148] When the child reaches for it, Slapᵘ drags her away and takes her home. She puts pitch on her eyes to prevent escape.[149] Slapᵘ sleeps one day and goes out the next.

A man from the child's tribe is lead to the house by finding better and better cedar trees. The child tells him when the Slapᵘ will sleep. He goes home and gets the whole village to rescue the child. They come when Slapᵘ is asleep and ten men at a time rush at her with spears. She breaks the spears of all but the last ten. They kill her. *That is why there is no Slapᵘ today.*

When the child is brought home she spears the children and eats their hearts.[150] The people put her in a canoe and command it to go to the end of the world. When it arrives there the girl gets out and finds Raccoon digging carrots. She pulls them out easily where Raccoon has to work hard.[151] The girl goes home with Raccoon and the latter's husband offers her a choice of fresh or dried fish. She chooses fresh and he goes out fishing, telling her not to look when she hears a splash. He catches a whale. The second time she looks and the whale gets away.

[143] See footnote 61.
[144] Snohomish: Haeberlein-Gunther ms., "The Hunchback Boy"; Gunther ms., "The Stolen Children."
Snuqualmi: Gunther ms., "The Stolen Children."
Green River: Ballard ms., "The Humpbacked Boy and the Ogress."
Puyallup: *Ibid.*, "The Stolen Children."
Sk!qomic: Boas, *Sagen*, 57; Bella Coola, 249; Bella Bella, 224.
Kwakiutl: Boas, *Kwakiutl Texts*, 87, 354, 431; Boas, *Kwakiutl Tales*, 117.
[145] Snohomish: Gunther ms., "The Stolen Children."
[146] See footnote 149.
[147] Sk!qomic: Boas, *Sagen*, 58.
Puget Sound: Haeberlein-Gunther ms., "The Stolen Children."
[148] Tahltan: Teit, *Tahltan Tales*, 252.
[149] See footnote 146.
Shuswap: Boas, *Sagen*, 7, 17; Snanaimuq, 57; Comox, 89; Nootka, 114.
[150] See footnote 71.
[151] Skykomish: Gunther ms., "Skunk Marries Two Girls."

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SLAPᵘ STEALS A CHILD (Two Versions)

Slapᵘ steals a baby boy. [Slapᵘ lures a crying child by offering him a piece of fish which is really bark. (2nd vers.).] When the child cries as she carries it prairies are formed. The child grows rapidly and asks for bow and arrows. [She asks him to call her wife, not mother. One day the boy shoots the heart of Slapᵘ which she hangs by the road[152] when she goes out to get food. She feels this and runs home.[153] (1st vers.).] The boy runs away and reaches Sequim Bay where a man tells him that his people have gone around the spit. The man takes the boy in his boat.

The Slapᵘ comes and wants to be taken over in the man's boat.[154] The man takes a knot out of his canoe. [He says it leaks. (2nd vers.).] He asks her to sit at one end of the canoe and tells a crab to bite her. She is afraid and moves back until she falls in the water and is drowned.[155] *That place where she drowned still bubbles.*

THE CANNIBAL[156]

QueētchEn, a cannibal, is pursuing children at Washington Harbor. She asks Crane to take her over to the spit and Crane falls purposely to drown her.

THE THUNDERBIRD

When the Thunderbird moves his wings, it thunders.[157] He has a belt which is a snake whose tongue is lightning. When the thunder shakes hard the snake falls in the water. In crawling up a tree it takes off the bark and burns it.

This power makes it rain. When called upon when some Klallam are pursuing an enemy, it rains so the people get under their canoes. Then the Klallam kill them.

WAR WITH THE QUINAULT

A girl is picking crabapples in a tree and singing. Her grandmother asks her to stop singing and come down. She refuses, saying that she sees the Quinault painted black and ready for war. The Quinault kill the children. A boy escapes and reports this. A woman at Eēnis dresses as a man and tells the Quinault when they come that she is a certain woman's husband and will kill them if they take the children.

[152] Skagit: Haeberlin-Gunther ms., "The Cannibal Women."
[153] Skagit: *Ibid.*
Okanagon: Boas, *Salishan Tales*, 67.
Wasco: Spier ms., "Sky Rope"; Sapir, *Wishram Texts*, 294.
Wishram: *Ibid.*, 165.
[154] See following tale.
Chinook: Boas, *Sagen*, 32.
Fraser River: *Ibid.*
Chippeweyan: Petitot, 409.
[155] Songish: Gunther ms., "Kekaiax Drowns a Cannibal".
[156] See preceding tale.
[157] Hare: Petitot, 283.

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KLALLAM ETHNOGRAPHY

by

ERNA GUNTHER

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PREFACE

The material presented in this paper was collected in the field under the auspices of the Department of Anthropology of the University of Washington. Although there are some notes on almost every phase of life, the sketch is far from complete. Some features of the old culture have disappeared so completely that it may not be possible to obtain more than is recorded in this first sketch, but in others there is still a rich field for further investigation. For the sake of readability I have presented the account in the historical present so far as possible.

The field work was done during the winters of 1924 and 1925 with a final trip in October, 1925. The best material was secured at Jamestown, Washington Harbor and Esquimalt. The principal informant was Robert Collier, a resident of Jamestown who was living temporarily at Washington Harbor, the native village of his family. He is Klallam both on his father's and his mother's side. At Jamestown some information was secured from John Cook who is especially well versed in fishing and hunting techniques. On the subject of woman's occupations including the preparation of food, Mary Wood of Jamestown gave excellent information. At Esquimalt work was resumed with Mrs. Robbie Davis, who several years ago proved an excellent narrator of folktales. All these people are very willing informants and anxious to cooperate with me but their knowledge of the old life is very limited.

An effort has been made to incorporate in the paper all the available literature on the Klallam. The principal sources are Vancouver, Kane, Eells and Gibbs, with some material from Curtis. Both Eells and Gibbs are difficult to use because their material deals with Puget Sound in general and very few statements refer to the Klallam in particular. Comparative notes have been added to those sections of material culture that are full enough to offer a basis for discussion. The social and ceremonial phases of life will be dealt with in a separate paper which will attempt to trace the diffusion and transformation of these features among the Coast Salish tribes.

The phonetic scheme used is the simpler system given in *Phonetic Transcription of Indian Languages.*[1] The vowels are those given on page three of the pamphlet with the exception of ᴇ which designates the obscure vowel. The exceptions in the consonants are:

- ł surd lateral
- x velar spirant
- ñ nasalized n
- ss double initial consonant indicates excessive length.

The exclamation after a consonant is used for the weak fortis. Diphthongs are pronounced as in English.

ERNA GUNTHER.

Seattle, Washington.
July 1, 1926.

[1] See bibliography.

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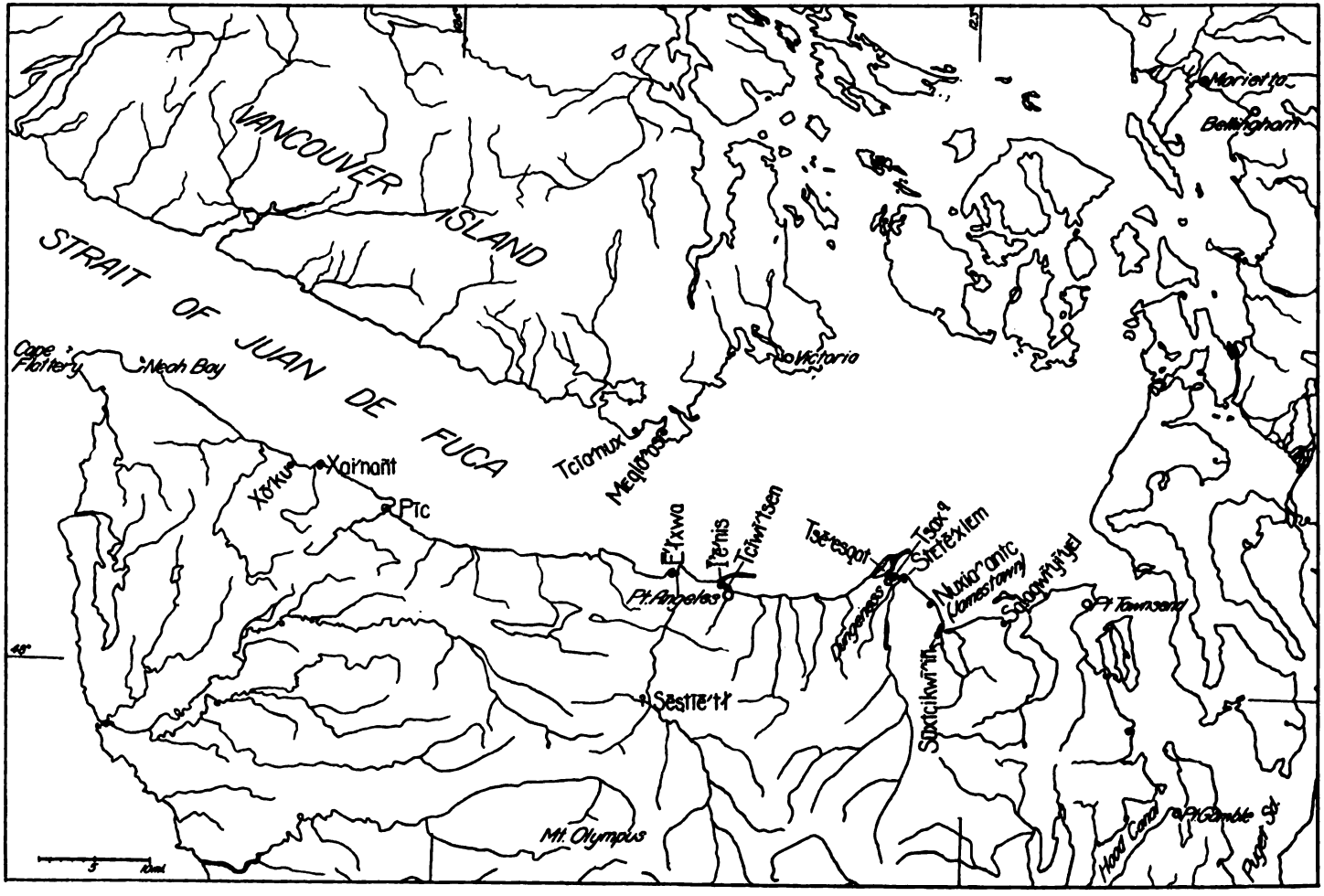

Figure 1. Map of Klallam Villages.

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FIGURE

FIG. 1. Map of Klallam Villages 174

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KLALLAM ETHNOGRAPHY

INTRODUCTION

TERRITORY

The Klallam, who call themselves Nuxsklai'yem,[2] "strong people," formerly occupied the southern shore of the Strait of Juan de Fuca from the mouth of the Hoko River to Port Discovery Bay. The villages were situated along the shore with the exception of the upper Elwah group who lived about twenty miles inland on the Elwah River. Within this stretch of territory there were the following villages: (See following page 178).

Eells mentions a Klallam village opposite Seabeck which was formerly inhabited by about thirty people of whom all but a dozen had in his day moved to Port Gamble to work in the mill.[8] The place opposite Seabeck is Brinnon, a favorite fishing station of the Klallam; so it seems questionable whether this settlement ever was a permanent one. Curtis states that there were Klallam settlements on the upper west coast of Whidby Island and on the southern shores of San Juan and Orcas Islands.[9] These have never been mentioned to me. The locations are directly across the Straits from the Klallam territory and may at some time have been fishing stations.

Vancouver in cruising along the southern shore of the Straits is everywhere impressed by the absence of inhabitants. He records that at Dungeness there were only a few rude huts, mats being thrown over forked sticks.[10] It is difficult to offer an explanation for this because any one of the three village sites at Dungeness would have been visible from the water. It is readily conceivable that the inhabitants might have been away, but where were the houses? Likewise at the entrance of Port Discovery Bay, Vancouver saw a deserted village with houses capable of holding about one hundred people. The houses, which Vancouver describes as resembling those of the Nootka, looked as though they had not recently been occupied.[11] Again at Port Townsend he finds a deserted village that bears no signs of recent occupation.[12] This may have been the old Chemakum village. It is not known just when they were finally defeated by the Klallam, but the late eighteenth century is, according to the meager evidence we have, not too early. As to the general uninhabited condition of the shore, Vancouver probably passed at a time when the Klallam were away on food gathering expeditions.

At the present time there are Klallam still living at all of the sites in the first list with the exception of Dungeness and Port Discovery. In addition to

[2] Eells, (a), 607. The Nisqually call themselves dnosłalâb and the Skokomish call them dusła'lâb (Spier, personal communication).
[8] Eells, (a), 607.
[9] Curtis, IX, 19.
[10] Vancouver, 225.
[11] Vancouver, 229.
[12] Vancouver, 233.

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Villages	*Gibbs' List*[3]	*Curtis' List*[4]
Xō'kū, Hoko River		Ho'Ko, Makah word "Projecting" referring to a large rock at the mouth of Hoko Creek. Six houses of mixed Makah and Klallam.[5]
Xainañt, Clallam Bay		Tlătlăwai'is, west side of Clallam Bay; six large houses. Hŭngĭ'ngĭt, east side of Clallam Bay; five large houses.
Pīc, Pysht	Pisht'st	Pĭsh's't, on Pysht Bay; three large and two small houses; palisaded against the Makah.
Ełxwa, mouth of Elwah River	El-wha	Elhwa, mouth of Elwah River.
Sēstīē'tł, Upper Elwah		
Tcīxwī'tsen, Port Angeles	Tsī-whitzen	Chiwi'tsun, west base of Ediz Hook, Port Angeles.
I'ē'nis, Port Angeles	Yin'nis	Aiĭ'nĭs, Port Angeles.
Tsox[q], former mouth of Dungeness R.		Tsŭq, "Muddy" (referring to the river water) at the mouth of Dungeness River.
Tsē'esqat, Old Dungeness		Tsi'skat, small settlement at New Dungeness.
Stɛtē'xlɛm, Dungeness	Ste'tlum	Stiti'tlŭm, on site of Jamestown; two very large houses.[6]
Suxtcikwī''iñ, Washington Harbor	Shɛwin	Schqai'ĭng, on Sequim Bay.
Sq!aqwī'yɛł, Port Discovery	Ka'-Kaitl or Skwa'-Kwel	Qaqi'hl, a stockaded village.
Ka'tai, Port Townsend[7]	Ka'tai	
	Klat-la'was, "a village on the Strait"	
	Kwa-ha'-mish, a fishing village on the Lyre River	

[3] Gibbs, (a), 21.
[4] Curtis, IX, 174.
[5] Estimates of population are for ca. 1850.
[6] I believe Curtis is wrong in giving this location.
[7] According to Curtis this village was settled only after the extinction of the Chemakum (Curtis, IX, 19).

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these ancient villages there are two of modern origin in this district, Jamestown and Little Boston.' The manner in which all these villages were settled is evidenced by the history of their new settlements of the nineteenth century.

The villages at Beecher Bay on southern Vancouver Island, for example, were settled by Klallam from Port Angeles approximately sixty to sixty-five years ago. A group led by Yō'kum, the chief, and consisting principally of his relatives started out from Port Angeles to look for a suitable place to live; a place which of course, must have good fishing grounds. They found the shores about Beecher Bay in Sooke territory unoccupied and settled there. After living there a few years a quarrel arose in which a Klallam killed some Sooke. Consequently the whole colony went back to Port Angeles. Soon after they returned, the chief and his brother were falsely accused of theft. The chief's brother was sentenced to ten years' imprisonment and so the whole group, angry at the treatment accorded these men, returned to Beecher Bay. There they found their old village site, Tcīa'nux, occupied by whites, so they settled at MEq!o"os on the other side of the bay. This group continued living there until 1898 when all the men of the village were lost on a sealing schooner. The women soon scattered, marrying into other tribes. Now the place is practically deserted. The village at Tcīa'nux had thirteen houses which, with the exception of two, were small structures occupied by only one family. One might estimate that the village had a population of about seventy-five.

A few years before 1850 a group of Klallam from Clallam Bay, who always went to Lummi territory to fish, settled there near Marietta. They intermarried with Lummi and received allotments there when the reservation was created.[14]

[14] Kane (p. 223) may be referring to this settlement in the following passage, though it is unlikely:

"As I was desirous to coast round the Straits of De Fuca and visit the tribes on its shores, I employed Chea-clach the head chief [of the "Clal-lums" opposite Fort Victoria on Esquimalt Harbor] and four of his people to take me and the interpreter of the fort round the straits in his canoe; and on the morning of the 6th of May [1847] we started about 10 o'clock, running up the east side of Vancouver's Island, and crossed the canal De Aro [Haro Strait] to the main land. On nearing an Indian village, which contained, as I afterwards found, between five or six hundred Indians, they came rushing down to the beach in an attitude apparently hostile, and as the boats of the exploring expedition had been attacked the year before at the same place, we naturally felt some apprehensions for our safety.

We had no sooner approached the shore than a dense crowd surrounded us, wading up to their middles in water, and seizing our canoe dragged us all high and dry upon the shore, and inquired what we wanted. I replied, that I would explain my business to their chief, who immediately stepped forward in a friendly manner. Having told him that my business was to visit all the Indians, and to take likenesses of the head chiefs and great warriors, he took me to his lodge, where I seated myself on a mat with him in front of me and commenced my drawing. In a few minutes the place was crowded, and when it could hold no more, the people clambered to the top of the lodge and tore off the mats from the supports, to which they clung, one upon another, like a swarm of bees, peering down upon us. Look which way I could it seemed one solid mass of hideous faces, daubed with red and white mud.

I hastily finished my sketch [of the chief of this place] and hurried away, first giving the chief a plug of tobacco for his civility. His name was Chea-clach, chief of the Clallums."

It would seem in the first place that the last reference to the name of the chief is an error, for this is obviously a hostile village, and Chea-clach is his guide, not the chief of

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There are also a few Klallam on the north side of the Straits; some at Esquimalt and others at Saanich, Sooke, and Beecher Bay. Those at Esquimalt and Saanich have married with the Songish. At Beecher Bay there are a few descendants of the old Klallam villages Tcīa'nux and MEq!o"os. Kane mentions a village of "Clal-lums" opposite the Hudson's Bay Company's Fort Victoria at Esquimalt.[15] Although I have made no direct inquiries about such a settlement I feel certain that he has reference to a Lkuñgen group, probably the Qsa'psem gens whose territory this was.[16] The present day Klallam who are scattered through this territory have no tradition of a village of their own in the neighborhood.

Jamestown, called by the Klallam Nuxia"antc, white firs, was founded about 1875 when the whites asked the Indians to leave Dungeness. The Indians under the leadership of their chief, James Balch, bought a tract of land along the shore for $500. It was surveyed and divided among the families according to the amount they had contributed to the purchasing price. The settlers at Jamestown were principally from Dungeness with a few families from Washington Harbor and Port Discovery.

Little Boston was settled by Clallam Bay and Elwah people who stopped to work at the saw mill in Port Gamble when they returned from the fishing season on Hood Canal. They came to the mill late in November. The land they occupy belongs to the mill company but since they are still mostly in the employ of the company they are permitted to live there. The village is called Nuxq!ē'd.

POPULATION

The only towns of which definite present day census have been secured are Jamestown and Washington Harbor. At Jamestown in 1925 there are thirteen houses with seventy-five occupants. In a census taken in 1878 Eells reports one hundred residents at Jamestown. The village at Washington Harbor had nine houses sheltering forty-three people in 1880. In 1923 a census was obtained from the school teacher at Jamestown who listed 296 Klallam residing in three localities, Jamestown, Elwah and Clallam Bay. This census may be approximate.

The total number of Klallam was 1500 or somewhat less. The earliest census is that of Captain Wilkes in 1841, who counted about half the tribe. In 1845 the Hudson's Bay Company made a more complete survey. Before the signing of the treaties of 1855, Gibbs counted the native population. In 1862 the census was taken for the Commissioner of Indian Affairs. The following table gives a summary of these figures. They fluctuate to such an extent as to indicate the haphazard work done in every case.

---

this place. Furthermore by Clallum, Kane means the people opposite Fort Victoria on Esquimalt Harbor, i. e. the Lkuñgen. He mentions all the other groups in the vicinity of Victoria but not the Lkuñgen, by that name or any other. Later he also calls the people at I-eh-nus, Clallum (p. 229).

[15] Kane, 209.

[16] Curtis also doubts that this was a Klallam village. He believes that they were Sooke (Curtis, IX, 19).

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TABLE OF POPULATION OF THE KLALLAM TRIBE

	1841	1845	1855	1862	1878[19]	1881[20]	1885	1923
Whole Tribe	420[17]	1500	926[18]	1300	597	485	----	296
Klallam and Chemakum	----	----	----	----	550	----	380	----
Clallam Bay	----	----	----	----	----	46	----	----
and Hoko River	----	----	----	----	40	3	----	----
Pysht	----	----	----	----	30	24	----	----
Elwah	----	----	----	----	75	67	----	----
Port Angeles	----	----	----	----	35	57	----	----
Jamestown	----	----	----	----	100	86	----	75
Washington Harbor	----	----	----	----	43	18	----	20
Port Discovery	----	----	----	----	40	22	----	----
Port Gamble	----	----	----	----	ca.100	96	----	----
Beecher Bay	----	----	----	75	----	----	----	----
Scattered in Brit. Colum.	----	----	----	----	75	62	----	----
Skokomish Reservation	----	----	----	----	----	6	----	----
Seabeck	----	----	----	----	----	10	----	----
Port Ludlow	----	----	----	----	----	6	----	----
Port Townsend	----	----	----	----	----	12	----	----

LINGUISTIC AND CULTURAL RELATIONS

Within the Coast Salish group the Klallam are most closely related linguistically to the Saanich, Songish, and Sooke of southern Vancouver Island. This has also been established by Boas.[21] Tolmie and Dawson place Klallam in a linguistic subdivision of Salish which they call Kawitshin, comprising the following tribes: Tlahoos of Bute Inlet, Seshal of Jervis Inlet, Skwamish of Howe Sound, Miskwiam at the mouth of the Fraser River, Simiamo of Semiahmoos Bay, Kwantlin and Tshitwhyook of the lower Fraser River, Pilalt of the Fraser River, Kowmook of Comox, Vancouver Island, Nanoos, Snanaimook, Kawitshin (proper), Samtsh, Songis, Sok of Vancouver Island.[22] The Klallam are the only tribe of the group residing on the southern shore of the Strait of Juan de Fuca.

Gibbs in his vocabularies of Klallam and Lummi shows the close dialectic relation of these two languages, both using very frequently a nasalized n (written ñ in this paper). He also mentions the fact that in one of the very earliest attempts at linguistic classification in this area, Dr. Latham grouped Klallam with the Shewhapmukh or northernmost Salish dialects.[23]

The Klallam themselves recognize their linguistic affiliation with the Lummi and the people of southern Vancouver Island. They also claim that they can understand Swinomish and Skokomish, but are aware that these languages

[17] Half of the tribe.
[18] Eells thinks this estimate is too low (Eells, (a), 612).
[19] Eells, (a), 607-609.
[20] Eells, (e), 35.
[21] Boas, (a), 563.
[22] Tolmie and Dawson, 119b-120b.
[23] Gibbs, (b), vii.

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differ dialectically from their own. On account of intertribal marriage and frequent visiting many Klallam can understand and speak Makah and Chemakum, both languages of other stocks.

Culturally as well as linguistically the Klallam are most closely related to the Salish groups of southern Vancouver Island, although it seems that in every way their culture is much less developed. Those features of culture which do not also occur among the tribes on Puget Sound can easily be traced to Vancouver Island origin. Most prominent among these is the secret society with its attendant social significance. The entire social outlook of the Klallam is a reflection of the social scheme of the Vancouver Island Salish, the Nootka and more remotely the Kwakiutl. In many instances customs have been adopted without any knowledge of their real origin. On the material side the Klallam resemble more closely the Sound groups in that they lack the full development found to the north. Their manufactures lack the finish and decoration that distinguishes the typical North Pacific Coast tribes. There seems to be no feeling for design such as there is to the north. On the whole their manufactures were limited strictly to the most essential household utensils. Even such important articles as the larger canoes were bought from the Makah or from the Vancouver Island peoples.[24] In discussing the subject of decoration of clothing my informant said, "The Klallam did not care for pretty things; all they wanted was enough to eat and to be ready for war." Whether this is a true expression of their philosophy is open to question, but it is worth recording as an opinion.

[24] Compare Vancouver's description (Vancouver, I, 252, 253).

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VILLAGES AND HOUSES

THE VILLAGE

Klallam villages are located in sheltered coves, protected from the sea by a sand spit and having a sufficiently wide beach for outdoor activities. A village is called ax'wī'a'ñux, a group of houses in one place. The homes are built in a single row and with the door facing the water, whether it is in the long or the narrow side of the house. There are no work platforms such as the Kwakiutl tribes have.

Since the villages are occupied principally during the rainy season, outdoor activity is not very great. The cleaning of fish is done at the spot where the canoe is landed and often pits are dug on the beach for the baking of food, especially clams. Canoes are kept near the water line either on the ground or set up on posts.

During a potlatch the beach teems with life. Shinny, the hoop and pole game, tugs of war and archery contests all take place there. The final initiation rites of the secret society are conducted on the beach with the non-members of the society watching from canoes in the water. The climax of the potlatch, the distribution of gifts, also takes place out of doors with the donor, his speaker and helpers standing on the roof of the potlatch house and the guests assembled below waiting to hear their names called.

Suxtcikwī'iñ, the old village at Washington Harbor is a typical Klallam town. About 1880 it consisted of ten houses in a row along the beach, the largest of them being the potlatch house which was occupied by Xałskē'nim, the chief. The houses nestled close under the tall bluff at the back of the beach. Formerly there was a broad beach in front of the houses. A trail ran down to the beach from the bluff above. The spit to the west was use as a dressing place for the novices during the last day of the secret society initiation. During the week of seclusion the novices were taken upon the bluff at night to practise the ritual and learn the rules of the society. The sand spit directly opposite the village was unoccupied. It was used as a base for duck hunting. A tidal pond was formed near the butt end of the spit where duck would congregate. On this spit the poles for the duck net were set up. Another sandspit, northwest of the village was used as a cemetery. Here grave houses were built or canoes containing the dead set up on posts.

To the left of the trail from the bluff and at the beginning of the point of land in front of the lagoon stood a small group of huts in which the lower class of people lived. When a slave family became too large to live with their master, they were sent to this place to build a house for themselves. The houses were very small and poorly constructed. One of the pastimes of the young bloods of the upper class village was to come at night with poles and lift the roof from one of these small houses. This group was called sqwī'tsaxan. Wherever a village had a lower class group they were always forced to occupy

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an open position, on a sandspit or an unprotected beach so that they would bear the brunt of an attack in war. While the enemy fought with this group, the people in the upper class village had time to prepare for the attack. At Washington Harbor the lower class was numerically equal to the upper class group.

Between the two villages stood a row of poles on which were put the heads of enemies taken in war. The poles always remained standing.

Around the upper class village was a high stockade made of cedar puncheons. It is not known whether the flat side of the puncheons was on the inside or outside. The stockade started from the point where the bluff comes down to the water at the southern end of the village and continued along the beach about fifteen feet above the high water mark until it passed the last house, where it turned at right angles and was built back to the bluff. From the water only the highest points of the gable roofs of the houses were visible. The stockade had several heavy gates that were barred on the inside.

Kane states that when in 1847 he visited ī'ē'nis, the village at Port Angeles, he found it fortified by a double row of strong pickets, the outer being about twenty feet high. This enclosed a space about 150 feet square. The whole of this inner space was roofed in and divided into compartments for separate families. This fort, as he calls it, housed about 200 people. Whether this was the permanent arrangement of the village is rather doubtful. Kane states that at the time of his visit they were expecting an attack from the Makah.[25] When the Wilkes expedition saw the village at Port Discovery it was stockaded.[26] Gibbs remarks that the Sound Indians in general and particularly those on the Strait of Juan de Fuca had stockades of cedar puncheons, from twelve to fifteen feet high about their permanent villages.[27]

The village at Washington Harbor is the only Klallam group found so far that claims to have a village origin myth. The story, the Dog Husband tale, is according to my informant, also used by non-Klallam groups on Vancouver Island as an origin myth, but the Washington Harbor Klallam do not claim any relationship with these people on account of this supposed common origin. The tale has a wide distribution on the North Pacific Coast and extends even to some western Plains tribes.[28] The only other instance where it is used as an origin myth is among the Dogrib of northern Canada.[29]

The following is the tale told as an origin myth:

There was a young woman who fell in love with a stranger. He looked so fine that she could not help loving him although she did not know who he was. She thought that he came from a neighboring village but she really could not tell because she saw him only at night. Sometimes she asked him who he was but he would never tell her. For a long

[25] Kane, 229.
[26] Wilkes, (b), 24.
[27] Gibbs, (a), 192.
[28] The tale is found among the following tribes: Skokomish, Quinault, Skagit, Alsea, Coos, Kathlamet, Wasco, Cheyenne, Arapaho, Assiniboin, Blackfoot, Hidatsa, Lilloeet, Thompson, Chilcotin, Dogrib, Carrier, Tsɛtsaut Tahltan, Tlingit, Port Clarence Eskimo, Koryak, Chukchee, Baffin Land Eskimo, Central Eskimo, Kwakiutl, Bella Coola, Comox, Lower Fraser, Nootka. (Gunther, 160).
[29] Petitot, 311.

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time they met this way and at last she realized that she was pregnant. She wanted the young man to stay with her people so she began to let her parents know that she would like to marry him. Her parents found out that she was pregnant and said, "You are pregnant, we cannot say anything, it is for you to decide. If you want him and he will have you, he can come and be one of our family." The young man never came again.

Now the girl gave birth to six little dogs, five male and one female. When this happened her people left her, they were so ashamed. They went to the other side of Sequim Bay to live. The girl was left alone. She struggled to get enough food for the little dogs. She always went down to the beach when the tide was out to dig clams. The little dogs grew very rapidly.

Later when she went out digging clams she would hear them singing and dancing. When they danced while their mother was away the littlefemale dog would watch at the door so that they would not be taken unaware. When the mother started home the little female dog told her brothers who had taken off their dogskins and danced as human beings, that it was time to dress again. They put on the skins and lay down by the fire as dogs. When the mother brought home the clams she opened them and fed them raw to the dogs. She kept on doing this because it was the only kind of food she could get.

The mother suspected that something strange went on while she was away so she planned to surprise them. When she went to the beach again she carried a small piece of rush mat. She stuck her digging stick in the ground and put the mat over it so it would look like a person bending over. She built a fire beside it. She started to work in the shadow of the mat. When she heard the dogs dancing she stole carefully up to the house. The little female was taken by surprise, for seeing the fire on the beach, she thought her mother was there digging clams. The mother rushed up to the door and pushed the little dog aside. She entered and seeing her children as human beings, said, "Here you are human beings and you made me suffer all the time." They all sat down and hung their heads in shame. They said nothing for a long time. The mother saw their dogskins piled up, so she took them and threw them into the fire. Then the oldest boy talked. He told his brothers, "I am going to be a whaler, killing whales." And the next one said that he was going to kill sea mammals smaller than whales, porpoises, and seals. And another said that he would be a fisherman. The next one said that he would be a canoe maker. Another said he would be a hunter in the woods.

The mother said she would never forgive the little girl: she wanted to kill her. She prepared a place in the ground with hot ashes and covered the girl with them. But the child always came up again out of the ground just beyond the fire. The mother tried many times to burn her but every time she came out at a different place. They never knew what the mother finally did with her.

This happened at Washington Harbor and it is a true story. These boys were wolves instead of dogs but they did not find that out until they grew up.

When the boys had everything ready for their hunting they started out in various directions. They brought home all kinds of food. Each brought home what he had promised to get. So their mother had a fine family and was well supplied. They had many fires burning to smoke all the food for winter use. When the people who had moved away saw the smoke, some came back to find out what had happened to the girl. They found that she had a very nice family who were supplying her with everything. So they went back to tell others of her good fortune and all prepared to return. They bought food from her because she had so much and through her trading she became the richest and highest person in the village.[30]

This must have happened here at Washington Harbor, because the people used to believe that the wolves were their friends. The people living here used to make little wolf's heads which the young boys wore during a potlatch. They crawled around squealing and pretending to be wolves, while the older people played on little whistles made of cedar and wound with cherry bark. So we believe that we are from the wolf children. There is no other tribe about the Sound who can do this and use the wolf mask.

People of the upper class at Washington Harbor regard themselves as the descendant of these wolves. It is only they who are permitted to use the wolf mask, according to their statement. It is well known that this mask has a wide distribution on the North Pacific Coast, being used even by tribes who do

[30] Three versions of this story have been recorded from other Klallam villages. They read exactly like this origin myth with the exception of the transformation of the dogs into wolves, an addition that hardly seems an integral part of the story (Gunther, 138-140).

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not have the wolf ritual as do the Nootka and Kwakiutl. It seems probable that in this instance, as with the ritual of the secret society, they adopted a cultural trait, the origin and significance of which did not pass on to them together with its more concrete features.

PERMANENT HOUSES

The permanent houses are situated in the village that is occupied the larger part of the year. Even if a family spends the greater part of their time traveling either to visit or to dry fish and gather other food, still they have a permanent place somewhere which they consider their home and in which they keep their possessions.

As far as can be ascertained, the Klallam villages even in the days of prosperity were not very large. In the village at Washington Harbor stood ten houses between 1875 and 1880. My informant said that there never were more. The houses ranged in size from the potlatch house measuring fifty by two hundred feet, to the small dwellings, twenty by thirty. With the exception of the potlatch house, all the houses standing at that time had gable roofs. But the shed roof is undoubtedly the older type and was probably used formerly on the smaller as well as the larger houses.

There is no fixed position for the houses except that they generally stand in a single row along the beach, well above the highest tide. The best description was obtained of their position at Washington Harbor; there the long side of the houses faced the beach. There is always a door on the side of the house facing the water. If it is in the long side, it is either in the middle or very near one corner.

The houses are rectangular in shape, about two-thirds as wide as they are long. They are constructed of wooden planks, about sixteen to eighteen inches wide and a little more than two inches thick. The edges of the planks are grooved so that they overlap when placed side by side (a rabbet joint). The planks are cut to length when they are first made with about four inches added for setting into the ground. The side walls of the average house are about twelve feet high. On the inside, the house posts are set about ten feet apart through its length. These support cross beams which are laid in the notched upper end of the posts. At the center of the house the crossbeams support short posts that hold the ridge pole for the gable-roof. The shed roof of the potlatch house is made of planks that are grooved to overlap, while the smaller houses, especially during the nineteenth century, were content with cedar shakes. A few planks or shakes are always left loose so as to be moved to leave smoke holes. In a house measuring twenty-five by forty feet, there are two smoke holes which are used constantly and two others that can be opened when the house is full.

When the door is in the middle of the long side, the benches along the inside of the house usually commence at the right of the door and run around the house, stopping at the end of the third side. The space along the wall to the left of the door is used for storing piled up firewood. The benches are

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five feet broad and about two and one-half feet high. Underneath them are stored baskets with dried foods, paddles, boxes of clothing and all household effects in constant use. The benches are covered with rush mats which serve as beds. Ordinarily only one thickness of mat is used, but for guests there are generally three.

The walls are covered with rush mats about six feet square. These reach from the roof to the floor, passing behind the benches. Occasionally, if there is a severe storm, mats are hung at both sides of the door to keep the wind from blowing into the house.

The floor is just the hard trodden ground which is occasionally sprinkled with sand. The fires may be anywhere in the house, if there are only two they are likely to be along the center under the ridgepole. Sometimes they are in the corners near the benches, this being the arrangement especially when there are two or more families in the house.

The potlatch house at Washington Harbor is fifty by two hundred feet in dimension, standing with the long side facing the water. It has a shed roof with the high side facing the shore. The high side of the house is twenty-five feet tall, the low side ten to twelve feet. The roof is made of planks that overlap. The house posts along both sides are about ten feet apart. To help support the roof there are three posts in the center of the house which are larger than those at the sides. These are about two and one-half feet in diameter, carefully adzed and made of cedar. On the center post is painted a large white circle symbolizing the sun which is the chief's guardian spirit. Such a circle is painted on the front and back of the post, which stands directly opposite the two doors, one on each of the long sides of the house. The posts along the side of the house are painted with bands of red, white and black about one inch wide running around the post.

Outside the house is a series of tall slender posts set about ten feet apart. They are six inches in diameter and painted with alternating stripes of red and white. On top of each post is a small figure of a bird with spread wings. The chief, Xałxē'nim, who built the house, also carved these figures because the sun, his spirit, told him how to do it.

The door in the old house is oval but in more recent times the square door has been adopted. In the potlatch house described above the door at the front is oval and the one at the back is square. Doors are generally hinged by stout straps of elk-skin. Some doors are painted red, others have broad alternate stripes of red and white, perhaps three bands running horizontally.

When the Klallam group from Port Angeles moved over to Beecher Bay the second time, the leader, with the help of his cousin, built a large house at MEq!ō"os. When the house was finished the owner invited the Klallam from the American side and some people from Neah Bay (Makah). For this occasion the man bought bolts of red and black calico and draped it in the shape of two large thunderbirds across the front of the house. The heads of the birds met at the center and over them stood the figure of a man with the round door of the house between his legs. The owner of the house had this

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thunderbird power (tcē'neqwa) which he inherited from one of his great grandparents who was a Sooke. This is not a Klallam spirit power.

Draping the figure instead of painting it is very interesting because it may indicate an attempt at reviving an old practice when there was no one about who could really do the work, or else it may mean that the men saw the painted house fronts of the Nootka on the west coast of Vancouver Island and attempted to copy them. It seems fairly certain that the Klallam did not paint the fronts of houses for it is not even known to the present generation by hearsay.

A further peculiarity of this house at MEq!ō"os was in that half belonging to the cousin of the leader who built it. This man had a spirit power from the stars, so he cut tiny holes in the roof so that in the daytime a person looking at the roof from within would think that it was dotted with stars. These stars are called tata'n'ēsin.

After milled lumber came into use a house that was still built of the old hand adzed planks was called sētwau'tūx.

The house is owned by the person who builds it and is inherited by the eldest son of the owner. When the house is owned by two or more people their parts are inherited in the same manner in which the whole house would be passed on. If a son becomes of age and marries when his father's house is fully occupied, he may build a small house of his own, generally with the help of his father. It is seldom, though, that room cannot be made in the large house.

The land on which a house stands belongs to the owner of the house only as long as his house remains standing. In the village at Washington Harbor one of the houses was crushed by a snowstorm. The owner built himself a new house at one end of the village directly beside the last house standing there. When the new house was finished, he and his family had no claim to the land where the old house had stood. Gibbs notes that the Puget Sound tribes in general recognize no individual ownership of land except through occupancy. A house site belongs to an individual as long as he leaves any evidence of a building on it.[31]

The occupants of a house are generally close relatives, who may in turn bring in relatives by marriage who are not related to the original house group. A woman who remarries always brings along any children she may have by her former marriage.

The following list of the actual house groups at Washington Harbor about 1880 will give a more adequate idea of the combinations of relatives that may occupy the same house.

Starting at the west end of the village where the trail comes down from the bluff the houses stand in the following order:

1. House of Sqwak!a'sat (Jimmy Lahash), with a ground space of twelve by sixteen feet; gable roof. Its occupants were the owner and his wife.

2. House of Wa'na'sōmEkin (John the Doctor). with a ground space of

[31] Gibbs, (a), 186.

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twenty-five by forty feet; gable roof. Occupied by the owner, his wife and three children.

3. House of Qwē'itcten (Lahash, father of Jimmy of the first house). Gable roof, with floor space of twenty by thirty feet. Its occupants were Lahash, his wife, two unmarried sons, Lahash's mother-in-law and her husband. The entire household used one fire.

4. House of S^{u}qwa'k!ten (Tommy Mike, a brother of the wife in house No. 2). Same size as the preceding house and occupied by the owner, his wife, three children, and the wife's grandmother from Clallam Bay, who was such a frequent visitor that she could be regarded as a resident.

5. House of Xałsxa'nem (Stone), with a ground space the same as the two preceding. Its occupants were the owner, his wife, who had formerly been the wife of Xałsxa'nem's brother, with a son of this former marriage; also a very old woman, Cicu'itca, whose affiliations could not be secured.

6. The potlatch house belonging to Xałskē'nim, the chief of the village. He had two wives who each maintained her own fire. The younger wife had three children.

7. House of Sxai'aks (Sequim Dick), which except for the potlatch house was the largest in the village. Its occupants were only the owner and his wife.

8. House of Smisī't^{ux} (Sequim Mike, a brother of Tommy Mike of No. 4). The house was twenty by forty feet in size. Its occupants were the owner, his wife, two sons, a stepson with his wife and mother-in-law. The stepson was the owner's wife's child by a former marriage. There were two fires, one belonging to the owner's immediate family and one to the stepson.

9. House of Qwaiya'wts (Sequim Jim) which was the same size as the neighboring one. Its occupants were the owner, his sister and her husband, and his grandmother.

10. House unoccupied as far back as my informant can remember.

The occupants of these houses as listed total forty-three. In his discussion of the population of the Klallam villages, Eells states that at Sequim, here he doubtless means Washington Harbor and not the present town of Sequim, there were in 1878 about forty people.[82]

At the Klallam village at Beecher Bay there is an excellent example of plural ownership of a large house. The largest house was built and owned by Yō'kum together with his cousin Qwaia'nux and K!tce'nut, whose relationship to the others could not be gotten, and the latter's nephew Tsuneskē'nim. The other large house belonged to K!łē'xem, the chief of the village, who occupied it with his son and four wives. There were also eleven small houses along the beach each occupied by a single family.

When the Klallam migrated the second time to Beecher Bay, they settled at MEq!ō''os across the Bay from the former village site. There Yō'kum built another large house in partnership with his parallel cousin. This is the house which is described above with the draped thunderbird and the star cut-

[82] Eells, (a). 607-609.

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tings. The house was occupied by Yō'kum, his wife, four slaves, a friend of Yō'kum's with his wife and son; Yō'kum's cousin who owned half the house had with him his wife and their son with his two wives, a Cowichan and a Sooke, the former having two children. The other large house at MEq !ō''os was occupied by StEk !ē'nim and his fifty (!!) wives. There were many fires in this house.

TEMPORARY SHELTERS

For camping many rush mats are carried along. These mats (su'ya'atc)[33] are five feet to six feet wide and twelve feet long. For a very temporary camp, overnight or at most a few days, these mats are set up on cedar poles (tcu'nak !un) which are also carried. The poles are notched so that cross poles can be laid on them. They are set in the ground in a slanting position so the upper ends cross. The crossed ends are firmly tied with cedar rope or nettle twine. A ridge pole is laid in the crotch formed by the crossed poles. Mats are then laid on the poles so that the upper mat overlaps the lower one. They are pinned together with pins of cedar. The front and back are covered by the overlapping mats from the sides. The back is pinned but the front is left open to serve as an entrance. A smoke vent is left in the roof, for a fire is usually built inside; during stormy weather it is also used for cooking. The house (sīa'atcaut^{ux}) is rectangular, measuring about twenty feet in length. It is built facing away from the wind or when it is calm it faces the water. Eells also mentions a half circle camp consisting of a wind break of mats facing away from the wind.[34]

A more permanent camp such as is set up during the fishing season on Hood Canal is built of the same materials with the addition of four small trees that are cut near the camp site. These trees are stripped of their branches, set in the ground at the corners of a rectangle, and notched at the upper end. The four cedar poles used for the sides of the temporary shelter are now laid in the notches of these uprights. On these are put two sets of slanting roof poles forming a gable with the ridge pole. The poles are tied together with cedar rope. In this house the entire structure of the temporary shelter forms a gable roof set on four uprights joined by horizontal poles. The whole building is covered with mats, one width of mat (about twelve feet long) being the height of the wall. On the roof the mats are laid overlapping each other as they do in the temporary shelter. The front and back are treated in the same way, only here a small mat is provided as a door flap. Cooking is done inside the house. Such a house is built for one family. If the family is a large one, a second house is built after the smoking of salmon commences, for they smoke the fish right in their living quarters on racks set up for the purpose. Two alderwood fires are kept going day and night. In order to prevent the heat from escaping, the house is lined with cedar boughs.

[33] Su-ya-a'tsh, a mat of cat tails (Gibbs, (b), 14).
[34] Eells, (a), 625.

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COMPARATIVE NOTES

Throughout the North Pacific coast area where subsistence is obtained from fishing, hunting and plant gathering, residence is frequently shifted according to season. Every tribe therefore has a permanent village, occupied during part of the winter, and a number of fishing stations, hunting grounds and berrying places. This mode of life is shared by a large number of Plateau tribes who move to the rivers for fish and to the mountains for hunting and berry picking. They, like the coast people, have a type of house that cannot be moved, so they also employ simpler shelters, generally of mat construction, for camping.

The villages on the coast are always located on the beach or along the river banks, generally with the houses in one or more rows facing the water.[35] Where work platforms were built on the beach in front of the houses, outdoor activity was probably much greater than among the Klallam who did not have them. These platforms were used as a meeting place by Quinault men, while women, though not forbidden, were by custom excluded from them.[36] These work platforms are found more frequently among the tribes of Vancouver Island and the mainland opposite than on the Sound or to the south.[37] The Quinault in having them show, as in many other cultural features, a more direct contact with Vancouver Island than the Puget Sound tribes have.

Since villages situated on the beach or directly on a river bank are open to attack, stockades were frequently used in this area. The village was generally compact enough so that not a very large area need be surrounded. Villages that were especially likely to be attacked were probably stockaded all the time, while others erected a stockade when warfare was anticipated. Thus the Snohomish and Skagit, whose villages were on Whidby Island and the shores of Puget Sound, palisaded their villages, while the Snuqualmi and Skykomish who lived up the rivers of those names, did not.[38] Stockaded villages are known as far south as the Tillamook of Oregon.[39]

The number of houses in a coast village was never very great since they were generally a few large houses that sheltered as many as one hundred people. One of the large villages on record is the Nootka town at Friendly Cove, which in 1803 had twenty houses ranging in size from thirty-six by forty feet to forty by one hundred and fifty feet.[40] This village, like towns generally on the west coast and northern Vancouver Island, was probably larger than the average Klallam village of which Washington Harbor is a good example. Early explorers, as Cook and Meares, judged the native population as very large, in exaggeration of actual facts. For instance, Meares estimates the population of Tatoosh Island in Makah territory as five thousand.[41] Even

[35] Boas, (b), 46.
[36] Olson, Ms.
[37] Tsimshian, Boas, (b), 48. Kwakiutl, Boas, (d), 310, 744.
[38] Haeberlin-Gunther, 24.
[39] Boas, (e), 5.
[40] Jewitt, 68.
[41] Meares, 180.

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at the height of the fishing season, that is hardly possible. Only a few years later Vancouver reported the comparative scarcity of native population throughout the Klallam territory.

The largest house in any village is the potlatch house, which in some places is used as the residence of the man who builds it, but in other groups, as for example the Snohomish,[42] is used only on festive occasions. Large houses among the Snohomish range from thirty to seventy meters in length.[43] Throughout the area of the rectangular plank house, the size has about the same range, houses of various sizes being found in every community.

Although the Klallam claim to have no other orientation for their houses than that they must face the water, some tribes have very specific rules for the placing of the house. The Quinault houses always face west, the long side running east and west with the door at the west end.[44]

The rectangular plank house such as the Klallam build, is used along the Pacific coast from Alaska to southern Oregon and with certain modifications in northern California. The chief differences in construction are whether or not the house is built over a pit, whether the planks are placed vertically or horizontally, and in the type of roof used. Waterman sums up the distribution of these features as follows:

> It looks very much as though this gabled house were an older form in this region (Puget Sound, Southern Vancouver Island), having apparently had at one time a very extended distribution along the coast, from Mount Saint Elias in Alaska to Humboldt Bay in California. Along the whole stretch of coast included between these two extremes, we find rectangular plank houses with no interruption. At both ends of the area moreover, these rectangular houses take the form of gabled structures with paired ridge-poles, vertical wall- and roof-planks, and an interior pit reached by a flight of steps. This is certainly a strong argument for the supposition that in former times there was a continuous distribution of such houses over the whole region . . . The whole situation suggests very strongly that the "shed" structure is intrusive in this area, having been brought perhaps from the interior by the Salish, and modified by conditions encountered on the coast.[45]

Among the Klallam, where both the shed and gabled roof are in use, the old men of the present time believe that their people uniformly used the shed roof long ago and that this gabled roof came into use only shortly before the old type of house was abandoned (about 1870-75). In the village at Washington Harbor, for instance, the potlatch house had a shed roof, while the smaller structures, many of them built later than the potlatch house, had gabled roofs.

Even at closer range there were tribal differences in house construction. While the Klallam place the wall planks vertically, the Nisqually, Chehalis, and also the Tillamook placed them horizontally.[46] Neither the Klallam nor the Snohomish built the house over a pit. The Quinault share the gabled roof with the Klallam, while the Makah have the shed type.[47] The doors of the older Klallam houses were round. This type of door is very commonly

[42] Haeberlin-Gunther, 23.
[43] *Ibid*, 20.
[44] Olson, Ms.
[45] Waterman, (a), 49-51.
[46] Haeberlin-Gunther, 21; Boas, (e), 4.
[47] Willoughby, 267.

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used to the north, where it is combined with the totem pole or the painting across the front of the house. Reminiscent of this is the calico draped thunderbird on the house at Beecher Bay where the door was an integral part of the design. In the chief's house at the Port Cox Nootka village, Meares saw a round door which also formed the mouth of a figure on the house post.[48] The Haida frequently use this device also. At the other end of the area of rectangular houses the Lower Chinook use an oval door as do also the Hupa and Yurok.[49]

The plank houses all had bed platforms built along the walls. Some Puget Sound tribes had two rows, with the lower tier used as a seat during the day and as beds for the slaves at night.[50] The Kathlamet built beds in bunk fashion, one above the other.[51] The Tillamook screened off the beds from the remainder of the room with mats.[52] The Snohomish suspended shelves above the beds.[53] The Klallam houses that were described had only one row of bed platforms. These platforms were everywhere spread with rush mats which were also used as hangings for the walls and as partitions between family groups. Some Puget Sound houses had wooden partitions between families, forming rooms that could only be entered through a door from without.[54] Franchère describes a house occupied by several families of the Lower Chinook, each having its own door and fire. Fires were located in various places in these houses. Generally each family had its own fireplace, but in many cases it is shared. The Snohomish never allowed fireplaces in the center of the house because this was kept clear as a passage way. Two to four families might share a fire for cooking purposes but they ate by themselves. The Klallam likewise had the fireplaces off center, near the bed platforms. The Kathlamet dig a pit, one or two feet deep, along the center of the house for the fireplace. At the other end of the rectangular house area the Tsimshian also use the center of the house for the fires.[55] When any kind of food was dried on the racks in the house many more fires were started and kept going day and night; also during the feasts more fires were used, first for the cooking of food and then as a display of wealth, especially when oil was poured on the flames.

The owner of a house had the right to decorate the house posts with designs dictated by his guardian spirit. This was done by the Snohomish but the Nisqually satisfied themselves by painting part of the post red.[56]

A house was owned by the person or persons who built it. If a man was not rich enough to build a house by himself, he frequently invited a relative to build with him, each with his family occupying half the house. Generally

[48] Meares, 138.
[49] Franchère, 248; Goddard, 13; Kroeber, 78.
[50] Haeberlin-Gunther, 21.
[51] Strong, 12.
[52] Boas, (e), 4.
[53] Haeberlin-Gunther, 21.
[54] *Ibid.*
[55] Franchère, 248; Haeberlin-Gunther, 22; Strong, 13; Boas, (b), 48.
[56] Haeberlin-Gunther, 21.

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the inhabitants of a house were related. On the death of the owner, the entire house or whatever part was his, was either inherited by his son or the structure was burned down. If a house was not destroyed after the death of its owner, the Snohomish deserted it for a few months.[57] This is the general situation with which the Klallam fully agree.

Throughout the coast area, where plank construction is used in the permanent houses, mat shelters are carried on food gathering expeditions. These shelters are generally built in imitation of the plank houses, having gable or shed roofs according to the prevalent custom of the tribe. When the encampment is to be for any period of time, cedar planks are often carried along to be used for the base of the house, which is then surmounted by a gable roof construction of slender poles covered with mats. The use of the mat shelter extends beyond the coast region into the Plateau as far eastward as the marginal Plains tribes. The Kutenai, for instance, beside using the skin covered tipi, have a tipi of rush mats for temporary use.[58] It seems that this conical mat shelter has been carried out to the coast probably by the Klikitat, who passed it on to the Nisqually at the head of the Sound. These people use, in addition to the tent shelter, the rectangular mat house prevalent among the Puget Sound and coast tribes, whereas their neighbors to the north, the Snohomish, never use the tent, but only the rectangular house.[59]

[57] *Ibid*, 22, 23.
[58] Chamberlain, 183.
[59] Haeberlin-Gunther, 22.

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ECONOMIC LIFE

ANNUAL CYCLE

The Klallam, like other Northwest Coast tribes, depend for their subsistence principally on sea food. The villages are always situated near some fishing grounds; still most people find it necessary to move several times each year to follow the various runs of salmon or to gather vegetable products. Although a village in this way may have several definite abodes during the year, the one where the permanent houses are built is considered the real home of the group.

The Klallam from Clallam Bay to Port Townsend migrate in August to Hood Canal for the dog salmon run. The people from Hoko River do not go because their own river has every variety of salmon, but the same reason does not keep the people from Dungeness at home. The Klallam go as far up the Canal as Tahuya on one side and Union City by the mouth of the Skokomish River on the other. The Hama-Hama River and Brinnon are favorite spots. All these places are in Skokomish territory, but there are no permanent villages at the last two places. When the Skokomish hear that the Klallam have come, they join them for the sake of visiting. The Klallam camp near the permanent villages of the Skokomish at Tahuya and Union City.

The Klallam of Pysht and Clallam Bay go to Sooke Harbor and Beecher Bay to dry dog salmon. They did this even before Beecher Bay was settled by Klallam.

Shorter migrations are undertaken constantly. When the herring come into Washington Harbor the people cross the bay so as to be inside the spit when the fish congregate to spawn. They get salmon at the same time for the salmon come to feed on the herring. They also go to the creek near Blyn when there is a good run of dog salmon. The chief of Washington Harbor has a trap there which he allows someone else to use at night. At the head of Sequim Bay there is a great burnt over patch with no underbrush, having an abundance of blackberries. When the Washington Harbor people go for the berries they also dry clams.

These expeditions are usually entered upon by the entire village, leaving only the very old people behind. Canoes are loaded with provisions, mats and poles for temporary shelters and planks for carrying the load on the way back. When they are ready to return two canoes are bound together and these planks laid over them to form a platform for loading the goods.

The Klallam generally stay along Hood Canal from August until late November or December. They plan to arrive home just in time for the winter dances. Occasionally a few families stay at their camping place on the Canal all winter, returning home just in time for the spring salmon run. Some times one trip is made early in August, the dog salmon caught, dried and brought home, then a second expedition is undertaken in September for huckle-

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berry picking near Brinnon; generally though, these two objects are accomplished in one trip.

Women frequently go considerable distances from the village for vegetable products. Fern roots are particularly good at a place just west of Dungeness along the bluff overlooking the water. The spot has loose sandy soil, yielding large roots that are fairly easy to get. Women often accompany hunting parties to dress and dry the meat before packing it home. Hunters go out in spring when the grass begins to grow.

FOOD GATHERING

The gathering of roots, berries, berry sprouts and all sea food that does not require fishing is done by women, assisted by children and women slaves. At certain seasons the work is intensive, but just like fishing, it never ceases altogether. The only instrument used in digging either roots or clams is a digging stick of ironwood, slightly curved with a crutch handle also of wood.

There was never the slightest attempt at cultivation of any vegetable products. Whether the Klallam burn off the underbrush to help the berry crops as did the Kwakiutl is not known. They do however take advantage of such burning over when it occurs accidentally, for the Washington Harbor people know that the best blackberries are obtainable on a burnt off patch at the head of Sequim Bay.

The women of every village have their favorite places for each variety of food they gather. They never go very far from their own villages unless a whole group of families moves on a fishing, hunting or gathering expedition. Women and children go out in small canoes to reach a good clam beach or a cliff full of china shoes, but they rarely venture far from shore for fear of squalls and especially because they fear marauding northern Indians who are always ready to seize them.

The roots and bulbs as of fern, camas, tiger lily, and Indian carrots are dug on prairies or openings in the forest. Indian rhubarb and horsetail sprouts are obtained in moist places. Berry bushes are generally found on the edge of the forest and fairly near the water.

The following is a partial list of the vegetable products obtained by Klallam women:

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LIST OF PLANTS USED

Plant	*Klallam name*	*Gathered in*	*Part used*
Acorn	q!apūx		Meat of nut
Blackberry		August	Berry
Black cap (Rubus leucodermis)	ts!ko'ma		Leaves
	sqwamiłtsa'etc	Early spring	Sprouts
Camas	kłoi	May	Bulb
Elderberry (Sambucus callicarpa)	s'tseumak	August	Berry
Elderberry (Sambucus glauca Nutt)	tseqwek^{u}	(gotten at Skokomish)	Berry
Fern	sqeɛox	All year	Root
Gummy gooseberry (Ribes lobbii)	tumauk^{u}	August	Berry
Horsetail (Equisetum telmateia Ehrh.)	ma'ax	April	Reproductive and vegetative sprouts
Huckleberry		(Picked on Hood Canal)	Berry
Mustard	se'e'em		
Oregon grape (Berberis aquifolium and B. nervosa)			Berry
Red-flowering currant (Ribies sanguinem)	xuwi^{xu}q!a	Late September	Berry
Sallal			Berry
Salmonberry		June (obtained especially at MacDonald Creek and Hoko River)	Berry and sprouts
Strawberry (Fragaria cuneifolia Nutt.)	teiok^{u}	Early summer	Berry
Thimbleberry (Rubus parviflorus Nutt.)	łkełitc	Early June	Sprout
Tiger lily	scana't	Late fall	Bulb
Western dock (Rumex occidentalis Wats.)	so'owiłtc		Whole plant
Wild carrot	saquakx		Root
Wild clover	s'tca'na		Leaves
Wild clover	k!ē'kwa'itc		
Wild onion	q!qoxwe'itc		Roots

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In addition to these, Eells lists cranberry, hazelnut and crabapple.[60]

The women also collect such sea food as is obtainable on or near the beaches. Clams of three varieties, horse, cockles, and butter clams are gathered all year. Mussels (tō'ē"ok)[61] are best in winter. They are never used in March and April. China shoes are gathered by the people of Dungeness and Washington Harbor at a place east of the Harbor and on Protection Island. They stick to the rocks and are pried off with a knife. There are two sizes, the larger being called oq!wus and the smaller tuñsū"etc. In addition to fish eggs, sea gull eggs (sganet) are used. The women paddle over to Protection Island and take them out of the nests on the cliffs there. Devil fish (stēxwats!) are obtained by poking into the holes in the rocks where they live with a crooked stick of ironwood, killing the animal. The Klallam unlike some of their northern neighbors do not eat any kind of seaweed.

FISHING

Fishing is economically most important for the Klallam since the largest portion of their food is obtained this way. There is a considerable variety of fish obtainable in the waters of the Klallam territory, including many kinds of salmon, which form the staple food of the Indians. Fishing is carried on all year, either in the rivers or in the Strait. The spring salmon run commences late in April or early in May and from that time on until December there is some variety of salmon in the rivers. Salmon is caught either by means of traps in the rivers, by trolling, by nets, or by spearing at night.

The following table gives the succession of salmon runs together with other fish caught and the methods of catching them:

Fish	*Time*	*Method of catching*
Spring salmon kwī'tcuñ	Middle of April to July	Trap; trolling; gill net
Dog salmon mɛxlets	Late July	Gill net; trap
Humpback xa'nan	August to end of October	Trap; speared; line fishing
Silver salmon q!atc'gus	October through December	Trap; line fishing in river; gill net outside of spit; speared at night
Dog salmon (another variety) łxwai'	Follow silver salmon	

[60] Eells, (a), 618.
[61] This is called to'ɣuk by Gibbs, (b), 15, and described as a small blue variety.

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Steelhead latc'cūn	December, January, February	Trap; line fishing in river
Halibut s !tsutɛx	April to September	Line fishing
Ling Cod atct	April to September	Line fishing; speared close to shore
Flounder p !auwe	April to September	Speared from canoe in salt water
Herring slō'ungat	Middle of February to late March	Raked
Smelts qwūlxs	September	Hole dug on beach, tide stranded fish in it
Candlefish tcīma'na	September to late October	Raked and dipped

Salmon traps. Every river and creek has at least one salmon trap across it. These traps are always kept there except during danger of flood. Of course the trap nearest the mouth of the river is the most desirable one. This is generally owned by the chief of the village, who tends it at night, leaving it during the day-time for his poor relatives who have no traps of their own. There is always a hole left under each trap so some of the salmon can go up the river.

The most important trap in use by the Klallam is a weir (sū'xtał) extending across the river. Young firs about four inches in diameter and ten feet tall are driven into the river bed in two rows, slanting so that they cross at the top. They are placed at intervals of twelve feet across the stream. The crossed tops which extend above the water are tied with stripped cedar limbs. Poles are laid in the crotch of these tied trees. Then two parallel poles are tied to the upstream side of the slanting poles; one just below the water, the other just above the river bed. Now a webbing is made of little fir trees about one inch in diameter. These trees are taken from a place where there is a thick growth so that there are no limbs on the lower part of the trunks. The tops are cut off so that they measure about six feet long. The webbing is made by tying these small trees together with twined cedar limbs and it is then laid against the parallel poles that were tied to the upstream side of the weir. The current pressing against it holds the webbing in place. In the center of the webbing is an opening about three feet broad to which a door is attached. The door (sūxł) is looped on with cedar limbs and can be opened and closed like a window. About twelve feet beyond this door is another webbing about twelve feet broad and with sides extending to the trap, thus forming a pocket. On the right side of this pocket, going upstream, a platform (sukitcai"a) is built. Heavy posts are driven into the river bed to support it on the upstream side

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while the downstream side of the platform rests on the trap itself. The fisherman sleeps on this platform with his head against the protruding poles of the trap so that he can feel the salmon beat against the upstream side of the pocket. Salmon are taken out with a gaff hook. Before the iron hook came into use they used a sack net on a pole.

The owner of such a fish trap always uses his trap at night because more fish can be caught then. He always allows other people to use the trap during the daytime. He tells his friends to be careful not to walk on the webbing of the trap to reach the platform. Generally a little board walk is built from one shore to the platform. The first trap in a river has the best position. After the owner's death his relatives decide who should own the trap. There is no prescribed inheritance.

The current could work its way under this trap and keep an opening for the fish to go through. Also the river bottom is never level, thus leaving holes which the salmon use in ascending the streams.

Spring salmon are called kwī'tcuñ when they are still in the salt water, but after they go up the river to spawn they are called takwa'xlan.

At Dungeness they troll for spring salmon as soon as the run comes inside the spit, using cockles for bait. The hook is made of two pieces of elk bone crossed at an acute angle and tied with elk sinew. The end of the shorter bone is sharpened to receive the bait. The line is of kelp about five fathoms[62] long with a stone sinker in the middle of the line and the hook at the end. Trolling is done from a canoe in the morning and evening. The people of Washington Harbor troll for salmon inside the sand spit, but it is more profitable to use the gill net when the herring are spawning there. The net is of nettle twine, mounted on a pole of cedar at the top to keep it afloat and weighted with sinkers at the bottom. The fisherman goes out in a canoe and lets the net down where the herring spawn, for salmon congregate there to feed on them. Strings run along the loose sides of the net and by these the net is hauled in when it is full. At the little spit at Dungeness there is also a spawning ground for herring where it is profitable to use the gill net.

Although each village has good fishing grounds at home short trips are sometimes undertaken when there is an especially good run within a short distance. People from Washington Harbor and Dungeness often go to Port Discovery Bay because it is famous for its spring salmon. Then, when the spring salmon runs up the Dungeness River, the people from Discovery and Washington Harbor go there.

While the spring salmon are still running the dog salmon begins to come, that is about the latter part of July. Dog salmon are not trolled for because they do not bite at any kind of bait. Before they enter the river they are often caught with the gill net. The same trap is used for them that is set up for spring salmon. Dog salmon do not run far upstream, so only the traps near

[62] A fathom, which is the constant unit of measurement used by the old men here, is the distance between the tips of the middle fingers when the arms are outstretched at shoulder level.

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the mouth of the river are good. When they are caught in the trap they are either speared or taken out with the gaff.

The Washington Harbor people fish for dog salmon in a creek near Blyn. The chief owns the trap at the mouth of the creek. This trap has no pocket; just two rows of webbing with a door in the downstream row. There is no platform on this trap but the owner goes out early in the morning and takes all the salmon out with a gaff.

Humpback salmon run from August to the end of October. Before they run up the Dungeness River where they are caught in traps, they are speared at the spit. The Washington Harbor people come to Dungeness for their humpback salmon for they have none near their own village. Humpbacks are supposed to run well every four years.

Silver salmon run from October through December when, toward the end of the month, they get old. They are taken in the gill net, caught in the river by hook and in traps, and speared by torch light at night. The Washington Harbor people troll for silver salmon inside the spit. Recently another variety of dog salmon has been following the silver salmon up the Dungeness River. This kind always used to run in Hood Canal when the Klallam went fishing there. The variety has a finer flavor and is fatter than the early dog salmon.

Steelhead salmon runs in December, January and February. It is not trolled for, but caught by trap. A special trap for steelheads consists of a row of vertical sticks set in the river bed from bank to bank. The sticks protrude above the water and above the level of the platform which is erected over the trap. As the fisherman leans against the sticks he can feel the salmon striking against the trap as they come downstream. The steelheads follow the river till it rises and then come back to the salt water. A scoop net (poiya'tEn) is placed on the upstream side of the trap.

There is also a river net (camEn) which is used for all kinds of salmon. A basket net of nettle twine is made about six feet long, tapering, and as wide at its mouth as it is long. Fir or cedar poles about twelve or thirteen feet long are attached at opposite sides of the mouth. The mouth of the net is closed by means of drawstrings. Two fishermen take these poles and wade up the river, holding the net between them. In deep places they float on the poles. This type of net is used only in rivers.

Flounders are caught from April to September. Formerly they were caught only by hook and line. The line is of nettle twine; the hook is set a yard above the sinker. The hook is of two pieces of elk bone tied in a cross. The shorter cross piece has two sharpened ends. Clam meat as bait is stuck in the middle of the hook. At present both this method and spearing from a canoe, night or day, are used. Flounders can be caught anywhere in salt water. They are eaten fresh, never dried.

Halibut are caught from April to September at any place between Jamestown and Port Angeles. They are sometimes speared in Sequim Bay. A hali-

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but bank out from Green Point was used in the old days. There are no property rights to these fishing places. When the tide runs out early in the morning, the halibut fishers go out to the banks. Usually two go together, either men or a man and a woman. Women do not bring bad luck at this. They help pull in the lines. For catching halibut two lines of nettle twine are put out. There is a distance of one and one-half feet from the hook to the sinker. The paunch of a seal is used for a buoy. When the fish bites the buoy sinks. The bait used is devilfish. The hook is made of wood, bent into the desired shape by steaming. The Klallam call the wood used for this tc!tcaltc, a word for which no translation was obtained. Eells states that they used hemlock wood for this kind of hook.[63] As a barb at the upper end of the hook a piece of sharpened elk bone is lashed with cherry bark. The other end is wound with nettle string.

Ling cod is caught at the same time as halibut and in the same way. When close to shore they are speared. It is not liked as well as halibut.

Herring are taken with a rake (latumum) which consists of a board two inches wide set with teeth of sharpened elk bone, which in Eells' day had been replaced by nails.[64] The board is attached to a long pole of fir. The fisherman goes out in a canoe and with the rake lifts the herring into his boat behind him. Herring are caught from the middle of February to the end of March. They are especially plentiful at the old wharf at Dungeness, at the spit at Washington Harbor, and at a cove half way up the left side of Sequim Bay. Herring eggs are considered a delicacy and are collected in this manner: twigs of hemlock (Tsuga heterophylla Sarg.) are laid where the herring spawn so that the eggs are collected on them. The branches are lifted out of the water, allowed to dry and the eggs shaken off into baskets.

Smelts come in September. A second variety which is probably the candlefish comes a little later and are especially good late in October. These are very fat. Both kinds are secured in the same way. A hole about six inches deep is dug on the beach before high tide. When the tide recedes the hole is found full of smelts which have been stranded. These small fish are also splashed up by the surf and after high tide picked up on the beach. Likewise a rake is used for them or a basket with a rigid hoop around the top is attached to a pole and pulled in from outside the line of smelts in the water. The Klallam do not extract the oil of the candlefish.

Fishing taboos. The salmon, being the principal source of food, is the subject of many taboos. The Klallam like most tribes that use salmon extensively have a certain veneration for the fish and mark its coming in the spring with a ceremony. The first fish is handled with great care. After being cut along the two sides, the parts are laid together again and it is hung with the head up. The first fish is boiled into a soup and all the people of the village partake of it except the host. The cooking is done by the host's wife.

[63] Eells, (a), 634.
[64] Eells, (a), 633.

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The Klallam of Beecher Bay share the British Columbia custom of performing this ceremony for the sockeye salmon which is considered the most important variety. When the first sockeye is caught the little children sprinkle their hair with down, paint their faces and put on white blankets. They go out to the canoe and carry the fish on their arms as though they were carrying an infant. A woman cuts it with a mussel shell knife, after which the fish is boiled and given only to the children to eat. The sockeye is just like a person, they say; that is why they must be careful. This ceremony is an excellent example of acculturation, for the procedure is identical with that of the Vancouver Island people and not at all like that of the other Klallam.[65]

When a salmon with a crooked mouth is caught it is regarded as an omen of a dreadful occurrence. To forestall this they boil the fish and let all the children of the village eat some of it. Then the backbone is taken to the end of the village and set up on a pole facing the water. The other bones are thrown into the water. Another informant speaking of the same occurrence limited special treatment to the dog salmon only. A dog salmon with a crooked lower jaw is called suxqwxtai'yuk. Such a fish is boiled, the backbone removed, and then it is roasted, being spread open with cross pieces of ironwood. It is eaten only by young people who save every bone very carefully. When they are through eating they all go to the water with the salmon bones, dive under the water and release the bones. The fish is treated this way because it is considered the leader of the salmon and must therefore be shown respect so that the run will not cease.

When a boy catches his first salmon his grandmother or, in case she is dead, some other woman past her climacteric, cleans the salmon, boils it and eats it. Only old people are permitted to eat of it. The bones are thrown into the water.

Children are always admonished not to play with salmon that are lying around before being cleaned. If they tamper with the eyes or make fun of the fish they will get sick, and act like the salmon when it is dying. A girl of about ten was swimming in the Dungeness River and made fun of an old salmon. Soon after she became ill. Her eyes began to look like salmon eyes and her actions were just like the movements of the fish as they swim. Her people asked her if she had played with a salmon. She admitted that she had. The shaman could do nothing for her and she soon died.

It is the common belief that the old salmon come back to lead the young ones up the river. Some young men who had just been initiated into the secret society doubted this. They found a very old salmon, almost dead, on the bank of the river. The boys took off some of their ceremonial headdress and tied it to the fins and tail of the fish. Then they pushed him into the river, saying, "If you are the one who leads the young salmon back we will see you again next year." The next salmon season the young men went to the place where

[65] For an analysis of this ceremony and its distribution see Gunther, *An Analysis of the First Salmon Ceremony* (American Anthropologist, Vol. 28, 605-617).

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they had marked the salmon and found the old fish with strips of their head-dress. After they had seen this they became ill. The shaman could not help them. When they were dying they acted like dying salmon.

HUNTING

Hunting is of least importance, economically, to the Klallam. What little of it is done is carried on at sea rather than on land. The mountains back of the Klallam territory are known only to the few hunters who go there for elk and deer. Occasionally a hunter will take his family along to help him dry the meat and carry it home. There is generally only one hunter to a village. He usually becomes wealthy because the skins he gets are in great demand.

Hunting at sea is limited to whales (tcūxwai'yo), porpoise (suxmēhē'nes), blackfish (q!tcau'wūtc) and seal. Every village has one whaler who is always ready to go out when a whale is sighted. The Klallam do not go out to sea hunting for whales as do the Makah and Nootka, but wait until one is in sight. A whale hunter does not necessarily have to have a whaling spirit (xł!en), but the possession of one makes success more certain. This spirit is obtained by fasting and bathing. When a whale is sighted the hunter goes out accompanied by about eight or ten men. The hunter stands up and throws the harpoon, to the head of which a cedar line is attached. Every time the whale comes up a harpoon is driven into him. The whale is finally towed ashore where it is at once cut up on the beach.

For porpoise and blackfish the hunters go out in canoes.

Sealing is done in several ways. Only certain men know how to get seals. Sometimes two men go out together. One sets up a screen of cedar boughs ashore and hides behind it. The other hunter waits in the canoe. The hunter behind the boughs harpoons the seal on shore, while the other catches the animal when he dives and comes to the surface again. The seal harpoon has a shaft of red fir to which are attached two prongs of ironwood by means of cherry bark lashing. Each prong is split at the end, into which the bone point is fastened with nettle twine. The point is made of the thigh bone of elk, split two fingers broad and a hand's length long, having a sharp point and a barb at each side. Rope of nettle twine is attached to the points which detach themselves from the prongs when the weapon strikes the seal. No float is used.

When a seal is caught the whole village shares it. Either the animal is cooked and the people invited or it is cut into pieces that are taken to each house. The chief receives the largest portion. An exceptionally large piece is given to the chief's wife and to his son, for they know that when the boy grows up he will become chief. If the seal is eaten at a feast the host eats as well as the guests. The seal hunter retains only the oil for himself.

Before the hunter goes out for seals he must observe continence and after bathing, rub his body with cedar boughs or nettles until the blood comes. Any hunter must purify himself before starting out. If he is impure (aso'asin) he

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cannot catch anything. A hunter's wife can help her husband by keeping herself clean.

Duck hunting is carried on in marshes, out on the sandspits, or from canoes. On the sandspits, as at Washington Harbor and Dungeness, poles about forty feet high are erected and held firmly in the ground by wooden braces. At Washington Harbor there were twelve poles, two for each house. A net of nettle twine is pulled up between these poles by a cord going over the top. Early morning and just before dark the hunters go out to wait for a flock of ducks to fly into the nets. Their heads become so entangled in the meshes that they cannot escape. Only sprig tail ducks are so small that they can wriggle through the net. Hunters wring the necks of the ducks as they take them from the net. This net is called tu'kum.

These nets were seen by such early travelers as Vancouver and Kane; the former finding them on the spit at Dungeness and Port Townsend[66]; the latter at Port Angeles (Iē'nis).[67] Vancouver, seeing only the poles, speculates about their probable use. His descriptions leave no doubt but that they were duck net poles. He estimated their height at eighty to one hundred feet. Between the poles at Port Townsend there were large holes with blackened stones in them, showing that fires had been built there. Kane says that the poles at Port Angeles were only thirty feet high and fifty to sixty feet apart.

Another duck net is made of nettle twine and attached to a pole of red fir about two fathoms long. It is used from a canoe at night. A pitch fire is lit in the back of the canoe with a screen in front of it. The hunter stands in the bow and claps the net down on the ducks swimming in the water. Swans and geese are also caught in this way.

Elk and deer are hunted with bows and arrows. Snares are never used. Only a few men ever did this. They wear tied to the waist a little buckskin bag filled with dried fish by way of provisions. In the spring hunters sometimes take their families along so that the woman can help prepare the meat. There are no family hunting grounds but the whole Olympic range is free to everyone. Hunters never use snowshoes. When a hunter is successful he gives away his elk and deer meat just as the seal hunter disposes of his game.

Hunting on a smaller scale is done if an elk or deer or bear is seen walking on the beach. The people chase the animal into the water and follow in a canoe until the animal dies of exhaustion.

Birds that are eaten are seagull and eagle. Crows are never eaten.

No reverence is shown the bear, but when one is killed the hunter generally invites his friends for a feast.[68] This may be a last vestige of the ceremonial attitude toward the bear that is current from Northeastern Asia through the northern part of America as far east and south as the Great Lakes.[69]

[66] Vancouver, I, 225, 234.
[67] Kane, 234.
[68] Eells, (a), 622.
[69] For a discussion of this ceremony see A. K. Hallowell, *Bear Ceremonial* (American Anthropologist, Vol. 28, pp. 1-173). This was published when the present paper was completed.

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heads of spring salmon are never dried because if this were done the fisherman would lose his luck at spearing and trolling salmon. The intestines are cooked and fed to the dogs. The heads, after boiling, are roasted by being stuck on a split stick with the backbone running parallel to the stick. The stomach is washed out and with the eggs and milt is laid on sticks and roasted. The eggs of the spring salmon are never dried because of special beliefs about this variety; with others they do not care.

While the salmon is drying the women take each piece down at least once in two days and bend and twist it in order to make it soft and pliable. If it is not worked in this way the outside dries while the inside begins to rot. It is worked to break the outside fibers so that the air can get at the inside of the piece. Each season new poles are made for drying salmon. It is believed that the salmon play on these poles while they are drying and the new poles make them happy. They are always treated as though they were alive. Fish is never wantonly wasted.

When the fish is dried it is folded up and stored in openwork cedar baskets. There are shelves along the walls over the beds where they store these baskets.

Other varieties of salmon are dried in the same way, except that they are not sliced in strips as is spring salmon. The fish is skinned and the backbone removed. Then it is split into two halves by cutting down the dorsal and ventral sides. All other varieties except spring salmon are spread open while drying by little cross sticks that are set into the fish to keep the piece open and flat.

The drying of halibut is a new practice among the Klallam. My informant, a woman between fifty and sixty years, said that it is her generation that first learned how to do it from the Makah. The head is cut off and the fish skinned. It is thinned out near the center of the back like the spring salmon and then hung over an alder fire. It takes three days if the fire is kept up day and night. It may, however, also be dried in the sun. Even the backbone with the head is dried, if it is not eaten fresh. The head is split open for drying. It is stored in open baskets. Before the Klallam began to dry halibut themselves they paid the Makah $.50 for a skin and four thin slices, or one mat that sold for $.50.

Ling cod is either dried in the sun or before a fire. It is thinned out like salmon and halibut but it is not spread with sticks. First it is hung on sticks and then laid on a rack close to the fire. This fish is not as well liked as halibut and is dried only when it is caught in too large quantities for immediate consumption. It is packed away in open baskets.

To dry herring a stick three feet long is passed in succession through the mouths of as many fish as it will hold. The fish are dried without cleaning. They are hung over smoke for about two weeks.

Smelts are cooked and then dried. They are not smoked because they are too tender. When dry they are left on the stick. It could not be ascertained whether candlefish are also dried.

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Dogfish is dried just like halibut. It is sliced and thinned. Then the slices are rubbed with seal or whale oil. There was one woman at Port Discovery Bay who does this well. Not every woman knows how to do it. Eells states that it is only used when food was scarce,[70] while Gibbs notes the following: "Among the Klallam and others the flesh of the dogfish is boiled and when dried, pounded to the consistency of flour."

Crabs, China shoes, skate, flounders and devilfish are not dried.

Cooking. There are three principal methods of cooking used by the Klallam: stone boiling, roasting by the fire, and baking in a pit. Dried foods are soaked before being cooked in water for several hours, sometimes over night.

Meat is usually cooked in a shallow pit. Stones are laid in it and a fire is built over them. When the wood has all fallen to ashes, they are brushed away and the meat is laid on the stones and covered with mats. It takes about one hour to steam meat in this fashion. Seal meat is covered with moss and left to steam about two hours.

Fresh fish, especially salmon, is often baked in this way, the pit being lined with fern leaves or sallalberry branches.

Vegetables as well as meat and fish are baked in a pit. Both the reproductive and the vegetative shoots of the horsetail are prepared by baking in a pit for ten to fifteen minutes. They are then eaten with grease or dried salmon eggs. Salmonberry sprouts are tied into bundles and baked in a pit for ten minutes. Then the skin is removed and after being dipped in grease they are eaten. Tsaqwī'tcen, a plant like the wild carrot, and roots of wild clover are baked in a similar way. To bake camas, the pit is lined with fern or sallalberry leaves and is kept covered for three days and three nights.

When clams are to be baked the hole is dug on the beach but for all other foods the pit is prepared near the house. Fresh clams are put into a pit lined with seaweed as soon as the fire is taken out. The pit is covered with mats and the clams are left until the shells open. No water is added; they steam in their own juice.

Stone boiling is done in water tight baskets. Dried fish is soaked for a day in water, pounded and boiled. To make clam soup the clams are taken out of the shell, sliced and boiled in water. China shoes, which are best in summer, are thrown into water that has been heated to the boiling point by hot stones. As soon as the shell loosens they are taken out. Western dock, called Indian rhubarb by the present day Klallam, is put in a basket with hot stones and boiled. Skate is cleaned by removing the stomach; then it is boiled about ten minutes. The grease skimmed off is put in a box and kept for rubbing spoons and greasing paddles.

The last cooking process is roasting on sticks over the fire. The grease of skate is roasted this way for two hours; the grease that drips down being caught in a vessel. The fins are also roasted. Smelts and flounders are never prepared in any other way. Flounders are hard to roast, for they tend to fall off

[70] Eells, (a), 621.
[71] Gibbs, (a). 193.

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the stick. The dorsal side is roasted first. Before roasting they are cleaned, special care being taken to remove the gills. Dried salmon is often toasted by the fire. Mussels, which are best in winter, are laid on sticks over the fire and turned from side to side. When the shell is burned on one side they are turned.

Fern roots, which take the place of the bread of other diets, are laid on sticks and roasted. After ten minutes over a strong fire they are laid on a flat white stone and pounded with a short stick. The root is turned as it is pounded. Then the skin is scraped off with a mussel shell knife. The roots are broken into four-inch lengths, split open and served. Only the center is eaten. Eells states that dried fern roots are also beaten with a bone club into a flour and after being mixed with fish eggs, are made into a cake called skeve'n.[73]

Some foods are used without cooking, especially dried foods which are only soaked in water before eating. Dried horse clams are pounded on a rock with a stone to make them soft and are eaten with grease. Dried butter clams and cockles are soaked in cold water over night and also served with grease. Devilfish is eaten raw. Acorns are eaten raw after the shell is cracked and the meat pounded on a rock. Berries are eaten raw, or after drying, are soaked in water and then eaten.

There are certain combinations of food that are always used together, as for instance: baked wild clover roots with grease; baked horsetail with dried salmon eggs; baked salmonberry sprouts with grease; flounders, boiled or roasted, with thimbleberry sprouts; fresh or dried salmon with potatoes; fresh ling cod boiled, with grease; halibut and potatoes; dried salmon, cold, with whale or porpoise oil (the latter is preferable because it has no taste); dried clams and potatoes; dried clams with whale, bear or duck grease (seal oil is not considered good with clams); camas and seal oil; fern roots with seal or skate oil served with any kind of meat.

Serving of meals; feasts. Two meals are eaten a day, one about eight or nine o'clock when the men return from fishing and the other about sunset. When the women went out digging they took some dried meat, fish or clams along. They left home soon after sunrise and ate this as their breakfast about nine o'clock. There is no difference in the kind of food served at the morning and evening meal. Meat or fish, fresh or dried, some vegetable, grease and berries constitute the usual meal.

Dishes are made of alder or maplewood. They are trough-like and of any length; for feasts measuring as much as twenty feet. Horse clam shells are used as spoons and as grease dishes. The best ones are picked out when the women dry clams and are laid aside for feasts. Mussel shells are used as knives and also as small spoons for eating berries. According to Eells the larger spoons were never put in the mouth, but the food was pushed in with a stick or taken from them with a smaller ladle.[74]

Spoons are also made of madrona wood (koqwē'ilitc). They are really

[73] Eells, (c), 216.
[74] Eells, (a), 629.

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dugouts, for the spoon is not bent into shape as are the horn and wooden spoons of the north. The wood is greased while it is being worked because it splits so readily. This gives the finished product a fine dark surface. The spoons are never painted. Formerly horn spoons were not used by the Klallam although they knew of them and saw them at feasts in British Columbia. Later they occasionally tried to make spoons of cowhorn.

Water buckets (boxes) are made of cedar. The sides are cut out of one piece, which is bent three times at kerfs cut at intervals equal to the length of the sides. The joint is pegged together and pitched. A handle is attached across the top. It is tied to each side with twisted cedar limbs through holes bored in the sides. The handle is bent upwards slightly in the middle. The Wilkes Expedition saw these square buckets in use. Eells mentions a bucket with a cover with a hole for pouring.[75]

When the family is alone they all sit down together to eat, but when company is present the men are served first by the women, who eat when they are through. At large feasts young men are asked to help the women, especially with passing bowls of water and shredded bark for washing the hands after a greasy dish.

The usual beverage with meals is water which they drink from a large horse clam shell. There is, however, a tea also used which is made from blackcap leaves boiled in water. Eells adds that they brewed tea of the leaves of cranberry, blackberry and hemlock.

Salt, as Eells confirms, is not used in food as it is regarded only as a medicine. People occasionally drink some salt water for their health.[76]

Fire. A drill is used to make fire. Both the hearth and the drill are of cedar and shredded cedar bark is used as tinder. When camping some embers are carried in a clam shell so that drilling will not be necessary. The fire alone lights up the average house sufficiently so that any other light is not necessary indoors. Outdoors a pitchy torch is used. The pitchwood is split fine and fastened to a long pole. This is used for night hunting and traveling. If such a torch is not ready, a handful of finely split cedar is used, according to Eels.[77] During a potlatch or at any ceremonial, seal oil is poured on the fire both to light the house especially well and also as a symbol of extravagance. Bark is preferred as fuel because it is relatively easy to transport and does not require chopping, a real factor in the days when only native tools were available. At Washington Harbor there is a chute where the bark is thrown over the bluff. It was stated that before the extensive cutting of timber was begun there were not the quantities of driftwood that can be had on the beaches today.

[75] Wilkes, (b), 24; Eells, (a), 628.
[76] Eells, (a), 622.
[77] Eells, (a), 629.

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TRADE AND TRAVEL

Evidence from every phase of life points to the fact that in the old days there was constant travel between the Klallam villages and also to a limited number of other tribes. The incentive to travel was an invitation to a potlatch, a marriage feast or to participation in the winter dances. All the people who were invited from one village would travel together to such affairs. There were very few places to which the Klallam went that could not be reached by canoe. Travel over trails inland was very rare and considered a great hardship.

The constant migrations following the salmon or to the berry fields kept a village moving during the larger part of the year. There is the extended trip to Hood Canal and shorter journeys to any river that has a particularly good run. These trips are usually undertaken by a group of families and often by the whole village.

The Klallam do not seem to have visited the Sound tribes very frequently. They know the Lummi and Swinomish, but the Skagit, Skykomish and the Snuqualmi who live farther inland, are almost unknown to them. They meet the Snohomish frequently on the water. War parties are sometimes directed against the Snohomish, Dwamish and other tribes at the head of the Sound, but there is no real intercourse with them.

The Klallam make only fishing canoes, so all large canoes are bought from other tribes. The Makah are famous for good canoes and likewise the people near Victoria secure fine canoes by trading with the people of the west coast of the island, especially the Nootka tribes. A good canoe is highly prized and well paid for. It was impossible to get even an approximation of their former barter values beyond the statement that often a fine canoe is worth as much as a slave. The canoes that are bartered are large boats for war expeditions and slender, delicate racing canoes.

Cedar bark mats and rain hats made of spruce root are obtained from the Makah. Other products of cedar bark the Klallam manufacture for themselves. The grass used for the overlay in coiled baskets is also obtained from Neah Bay. Since the Klallam do not hunt very much they have to depend on trade for their supply of mountain goat wool. The wool is sold generally on the hide; if it is prepared it brings a higher price. According to all statements the Klallam do very little weaving with this material so the trade in it is not important. What little they buy is generally gotten either from the people about Victoria, who get it from the mainland Cowichan, or directly from the Cowichan themselves.

During the fishing season a great deal of trading is done. Wherever the Klallam go along Hood Canal they trade with the Skokomish groups they meet. This trade is usually limited to the most ordinary commodities: baskets are exchanged for dried fish or dried clams for dried meat. The Skokomish hunt more than they fish, so each tribe had a product which the other desires. The Klallam are famous for their dried salmon and clams. The Makah for centuries have secured dried clams from the Klallam. Of later years since the

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hop fields have become a great meeting place for these people the Klallam have sold large quantities of dried clams to the Yakima and other interior tribes who relish them greatly.

In all this trading each individual has in mind not only the securing of food or materials for working, but also gathering things suitable for potlatch giving and food for entertainment. If a man or woman excels in the production of any one article, he or she can rapidly acquire wealth through trading this product. One woman at Port Discovery Bay could dry dogfish better than anyone else, while there are only a few women in each village who make coiled baskets.

The Klallam did not begin using horses until about 1875. The first ones were secured through trade with the Skokomish.

COMPARATIVE NOTES

The Klallam live in a region designated by Wissler as the "Salmon area," which extends from Alaska along the Pacific Coast to San Francisco Bay.[78] Throughout this area the people on the coast subsist principally on sea food, especially salmon, and even the people of the interior use salmon together with game, for the fish ascend to the very headwaters of all streams emptying into the Pacific. Another characteristic of this area is the complete absence of agriculture; all vegetable food being procured by gathering wild products, particularly berries and various roots and bulbs. The principal tribal difference is the relative importance of fishing and hunting; the flora, at least from the Columbia River northward, being more or less uniform. Among the Thompson, for instance, one of the inland people of this area, the group on the lower river depends largely on salmon, while deer was much more important to the upper villages. The same situation holds for the Kutenai, where the upper villages fish only during the salmon season, using the fresh fish, while the lower villages dry and store salmon.[79] The northern coast tribes and the groups directly east of them in the interior differ from the people of the Great Basin and northern California in their choice of food in that they make no use of seeds or insects. The latter groups must of necessity use these to eke out their diet of salmon because of the scarcity in their country. Berries and fruits are rare in California, Nevada, Utah and Idaho in comparison to Oregon and the coast northward. The food supply of northern California and the inland states is very limited and the labor of collecting it very tedious.[80]

Early travellers along the coast very frequently mention meeting a band of "wandering savages." To strangers it was not always apparent that these wanderers usually had a very definite destination and that they were moving at a specified time set by the ripening of berries or a run of salmon. Throughout the salmon area one can expect to find a group at home, in their permanent village, only during the winter months. As soon as the first salmon come upstream, the village packs its rush mats and cedar poles into canoes and starts

[78] Wissler, (a) 14.
[79] Teit, (a), 230; Chamberlain, 183.
[80] Wissler, (a), 16.

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out for the fishing grounds. During the spring, summer and autumn, families come back to the permanent village occasionally to bring a load of dried salmon or berries and then start out again immediately for new fields. While the schedule for moving about varies from tribe to tribe, it is general throughout the region for the people to be in their permanent villages during November, December, and sometimes January. These months are devoted to ceremonials, dancing and feasting. November and December are the taboo months for the Tsimshian, e.g. The Nootka of Port Cox move to their winter quarters as early as August and from that time on live in ease and luxury. They do not even go out to pursue the whale, but take only those that come near the shore.[81] The Chinook along the Columbia River leave the stream sometime in September or October and establish winter quarters along the small streams in the woods. From May to November the Snohomish travel in groups of two to ten families, stopping to fish or gather berries as the opportunity presents itself. Although the Puget Sound tribes do not seem to lay claim to fishing grounds except those close to their villages, they customarily go back to the same places each year. Further up the coast where the sense of property is perhaps more acute, the ownership of fishing stations and berrying grounds is more clearly defined, such places generally belong to the village group, sept or gens. Boas states that among the Ḷkuñgɛn of southern Vancouver Island, every gens has its own fishing grounds where the chief acts as owner, directing the work and appointing head fishermen. The Klallam chief has the first trap on the river and allows others to fish there when he is not using it. Either the Ḷkuñgɛn case is a transition from the Puget Sound form to that existing further north, or it is an overformulated statement of a condition practically identical with the Klallam situation. The Tsimshian family has its own hunting grounds.[82]

The division of labor between the sexes is very uniform in this food area. The men do the fishing and hunting, while the women gather the vegetable products and shell fish. When hunting is done on a large scale, the family accompanies the hunter so that the women can help butcher and dry the meat. On the other hand, during the salmon drying season the men, as far as they can be released from fishing, help the women prepare and dry the fish. Among the Karok the men regularly dry the salmon and the women help when they can.[83]

Of much greater significance in this region is the division of labor by caste. Although the feeling for rank is keen in social life, the Klallam like the majority of Puget Sound tribes do not carry it into economic life. Slaves, of course, everywhere do the most menial tasks, but in this southern part of the area, masters and slaves will fish or hunt together and women will work as hard as their slaves at berrying or root digging. Among the Nootka, however, only the lower class and the slaves go fishing, while the chiefs and their relatives concentrate on whaling and sea otter hunting.[84]

[81] Boas, (b), 399; Meares, 203.
[82] Franchère, 131, 163; Haeberlin-Gunther, 8, 9; Boas, (a), 568; Boas, (b), 401.
[83] Powers, 12.
[84] Jewitt, 89, 90; Meares, 258.

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The time and duration of the fishing season depends largely on the salmon runs, although some kind of fishing can be pursued almost everywhere in the region throughout the year. The salmon, although fairly regular in their habits, do not always come to the same streams at the same time, a fact which must be taken into consideration in dealing with early accounts of the fishing activities of these tribes. Fishing methods differ but very little from tribe to tribe. People who live at the mouths of rivers generally troll for salmon before they enter the river; then they depend upon weirs and traps. The Makah, having no streams of any size in their territory, depend wholly on trolling. Those who live upstream use traps and spear them or fish with hook and line. The data available for the larger number of tribes is so incomplete that unless there are direct negative statements, the mere absence of one or more methods of fishing cannot be taken as evidence that they were not used. Every observer most probably emphasized those methods he saw employed and with these the study ended. One exception to this is Sproat's account of Nootka fishing. He states definitely that the Nootka never use nets, but employ all the other fishing devices current on the coast. A curious fact is stated by Ross, that the Chinook at the mouth of the Columbia, who subsist almost entirely on fish, get it all out of the river and never take any kind of fish from the ocean.[85]

Even the tribes who live almost exclusively on fish and wild products have at least one or two hunters in each village. These hunters are always highly respected. Among the Klallam only the hunters knew the mountainous country behind the shore. The Nootka had more hunters at sea than on land,[86] for they considered whale and sea otter hunting the heights of achievement. Most Nootka tribes also have one or two hunters while all the other men hunt casually as they follow the salmon upstream. Of the Puget Sound tribes, the Snuqualmi were perhaps the best known for their hunting. They pursued game on snowshoes, as did the Tsimshian.[87]

All the tribes who pursued hunting on land with any interest used traps, snares and pitfalls as aids, while the Klallam hunter depended entirely upon his bow and arrow. Driving deer into an inclosure, as the Kathlamet do, is a rare practise on the coast. Hunting with dogs is mentioned for the Nootka,[88] but not noted elsewhere.

Hunting at sea being more akin to their principal occupation aroused a much livelier interest among coast peoples. The Klallam, like the Puget Sound tribes, were among the least daring in this respect. The whale hunter of all peoples commanded the greatest respect, especially where he pursued the animal at sea. Not every tribe living on the ocean pursued the whale; the most active in this respect were the Nootka, Makah and Quilleute. The Tsimshian used only stranded whales.[89] This can be easily understood in the light of the fact that they were a river people until after the advent of the

[85] Gibbs, (a), 195; Sproat, 220, 229; Ross, 95.
[86] Gibbs, (a), 193; Jewitt, 86.
[87] Sproat, 233; Haeberlin-Gunther, 9; Boas, (b), 401.
[88] Strong, 24; Sproat, 235.
[89] Boas, (b), 404.

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whites in that country. The Klallam occupy an intermediate position, not pursuing whales on open sea but going out after any that are sighted from their villages. Since in this way no definite time could be set for the hunt, the whaler could not practice the rigid taboos under which, for example, a Nootka or Quilleute hunter prepared himself. Although this may account for the absence of ritualistic preparation, I feel distinctly that there must have been more of it among the Klallam formerly, and that my only available informant either did not know or remember, or would not talk about it because of his present Shaker affiliations. The preparation of a Quilleute whaler strikingly resembles those of a Nootka.[90]

The methods of sealing and hunting water fowl are again fairly uniform throughout this area. The Klallam have a seal hunter in every village as do the Snohomish, who are especially expert at it. The Snuqualmi and Nisqually do not hunt seal.[91] The duck net described for the Klallam is not found elsewhere to my knowledge. The Snohomish limit their duck hunting to spearing them at night or catching them under a rectangular net on a pole; both methods are employed by the Klallam in addition to the duck net.[92]

Since the food secured is more or less of a similar nature, its storage and preparation vary but little. For example, the Snohomish, who, like the Klallam, concentrated on sea food, treated their food in much the same way. They, however, in contrast to the Klallam, made a practise of storing food out of doors. Meat was wrapped in cedar bark and set in the fork of a tree. Nuts were buried in holes out of doors. Acorns were cooked and then buried in a swampy place. The Klallam claim to eat acorns raw, but there is every reason for doubting this because it seems impossible that they could eat them without removing the tannic acid. The Nisqually, who use acorns more extensively than other Sound tribes, follow the Snohomish practice, roasting and then burying them in the wet mud of lakes.[93] The Snohomish store berries by crushing them and forming cakes, a custom which is quite common throughout this food area, but curiously, was not mentioned by the Klallam.[94] Instead of drying salmon in the large house, the Snohomish maintain separate sheds near the house for this purpose, some being merely windbreaks.[95]

The methods of cooking used by the Klallam are general on the coast. They occur as far inland as the Thompson, whose economic life resembles the coast more than the Basin, and among the Kutenai.[96] One striking feature of inland cookery is the pulverization of food, especially seeds, which is not done on the coast. Wissler believes that this may have been borrowed from their agricultural neighbors to the east.[97] It is even applied to dried salmon. An

[90] A good account of Quilleute whaling is A. B. Reagan, *Whaling of the Olympic Peninsula Indians of Washington* (Natural History, XXV, 1925, 25-32).
[91] Haeberlin-Gunther, 9.
[92] Haeberlin-Gunther, 16.
[93] Haeberlin-Gunther, 12; Spier, personal communication.
[94] Haeberlin-Gunther, 11.
[95] *Ibid.*
[96] Teit, (a), 231; Chamberlain, 184.
[97] Wissler, (a), 15.

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interesting feature in cooking is the absence of salt, a lack recorded not only for the Klallam but also for other coast tribes, as the Nootka.[98]

The chief means of entertainment among these people is feasting. The meal is marked not so much by the greater variety of food as by the immense quantities laid before the guests. Meals in general have two courses, fish or meat with grease, and berries. For some people, especially those who do not hunt, the first course has very little variety. The Tsimshian, who are good hunters, have a good selection of meats.[99] The meals are generally served by the women, but at feasts the young men help. The young women of the chief's clan serve at a Tsimshian feast. Among the Nootka women are seldom invited to feasts.[100]

Dishes and eating utensils are principally of wood, with some of horn among the more northern tribes. One of the chief differences between the tribes is the skill in manufacture and artistic finishing. The area of woodworking practically coincides with this food area. Cooking is generally done either in water-tight baskets or wooden boxes, but at the northern end of the area and in the southern part bark kettles are used. Such are the birch bark kettles of the Tahltan and those of Douglas fir bark of the Tillamook.[101]

The Klallam use the simple fire drill, in this respect resembling most coast tribes and differing from the Snohomish and Green River people who use the composite drill. This latter is a great Basin feature being known outside that area to a few tribes, among them the Crow and Klamath.[102]

Although the fire serves also as the principal means of lighting the house, the Nootka use pine torches indoors, a practice that the Klallam restrict to outdoor use. The use of torches outside is fairly general on the coast, the Tsimshian using either maple wood or olachen (candle fish)[103] as against the split cedar or pitchwood torches of the Klallam. The Klallam share the Northwest Coast custom of pouring oil on the fire during the dance to light the house or to display their wealth.

The chief incentives to travel on the coast are search of food and attending potlatches or other festive occasions. Traveling is generally done in canoes, whose carrying capacity is increased when necessary, by laying house planks over two joined together and loading the goods on this platform. Since so little material was secured about the Klallam canoes (which, incidentally, were generally purchased elsewhere), it is not very profitable to deal with the subject here from a comparative point of view. Some comparative work has been done in this area by Waterman.[104]

Travel on foot was considered a hardship by the seafaring coast tribes. In

[98] Jewitt, 31.
[99] Boas, (b), 404.
[100] *Ibid.*, 406; Jewitt, 78.
[101] Emmons, 62; Boas, (e), 3.
[102] Haeberlin-Gunther, 15; Ballard, personal communication; Lowie, (b), 189; Lowie, (c), 214; Hough, 536, 538-540.
[103] Jewitt, 61; Boas, (b), 396.
[104] Waterman, (b).

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1878 the Quinault came one hundred miles on foot to a potlatch, an extraordinary venture.[105]

The people directly on the coast had little difficulty in reaching each other, but trade with the interior could only be conducted through passes in the mountains and along rivers flowing west. Naches Pass was a well defined trade route for the Yakima, who came over with horses to sell to the Nisqually. They bought dried clams and salmon from them.[106] The Nisqually then sold the horses to the Puget Sound tribes who would have them, for few tribes accustomed to canoes took readily to this newer mode of transportation. The Klallam did not use horses until the middle of the last century, but their neighbors, the Skokomish, used them earlier and more extensively.[107] The narrows of the Columbia River at the mouth of the Walla Walla River and again at the Dalles were favorite trading and fishing centers. While a small number of people fished, others traded or gambled, so that very few returned from a summer's trip with the same articles that they originally had. The Chinook along the Columbia traded with the Indians who came from the interior, and after the articles had passed from tribe to tribe they would eventually reach the coast. Coast tribes seldom went far up the Columbia. At these points the principal objects of trade were horses, buffalo robes, and tobacco, which the interior Indians exchanged for shell-money.[108]

Eells mentions the fact that he found among the Klallam objects that had been traded from Alaska and others from Cowlitz and Chehalis.[109]

[105] Eells, (d), 35.
[106] Gibbs, (c), 408.
[107] Eells, (d), 35.
[108] Ross, 118.
[109] Eells, (f), 178.

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MANUFACTURES

Skin Dressing. Elkskin and deerskin are the only hides which are dressed with any degree of care. They are soaked in water for several days to loosen the hair, which is then scraped off with a mussel shell knife. Then the skin is soaked a few days more in water with fern leaves in it. After this the skin is rubbed on both sides with deer, elk or seal brains which have been put in the fire. The brains are rubbed in with a rough stone. It is then folded up and beaten with a yew stick. This is to soften it. After the pounding it is wrung with the hands to make it pliable. The skin is not smoked. Eells gives the following variation of the process: the skin is soaked half a day with deer brains in hot water over a fire. The brains are then rubbed in like soap. After this it is stretched, rubbed and then smoked. Gibbs also states that skins are smoked.[110] This is woman's work.

These skins are used for garments, moccasins, and bags, although for the latter small skins with the hair on are usually used. The legs and neck are cut from two small deerskins which are sewn together with deer sinew in holes made with an awl. The fur side is out. Such bags (q!owatcē"is) are used for storing good blankets and clothing. Holes are punched along the opening for laces to close it.

Bearskins are occasionally scraped but more often they are used with the fur on. They serve as blankets, both for wearing and for bedding.

Shredding Cedar Bark. When collecting cedar bark (siaw'we) for shredding, trees are chosen which do not have many branches on the lower trunk. The women cut the bark around the tree near the roots and pull off long strips. They never climb the tree to do this. These strips are tied up with cedar rope and taken home. There the outer bark is removed and saved for firewood. The inner bark is hung in the smoke house or on a rack by the fire in the large house to dry. Bark is gathered in the winter, because when the sap is not running it is loose. When the strips are thoroughly dry they are rolled up and stored, ready for shredding.

The bark is shredded with a shredder (ts!eq!wōn) made of maple wood, about as long as the forearm and about one finger width thick. It is sharpened on one long side and on the opposite side a hole is made so that it can be grasped. Some do not have this hole. A crotch is formed by planting two sticks about two feet long in the ground and a canoe paddle is laid with the blade in the crotch. The cedar bark is then laid over the edge of the paddle and held in the left hand while pounded just a little to the right of the paddle with the maplewood shredder.

When the bark has been shredded it is called s'ts!hai"tc. It is used for

[110] Eells, (a), 635; Gibbs, (a), 219.

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towels, capes, skirts, padding in cradles, dance headdresses. Strips of unshredded cedar bark are used for stringing dried clams. Also narrow strips are used for making baskets. The Klallam do not make mats of cedar bark as do many of their neighbors, especially the Makah, Nootka and peoples to the north. Eells contradicts this statement, claiming that the Klallam made the usual mat, as well as a rough mat for cleaning fish.[111]

Mat Making. Mats are made of dried cattail rushes which the women gather in the marshes. The tops are cut off and the rushes are dried. A needle is used, which is about two feet long, slightly curved at one end and with an eye for the twine at the other. It is three-cornered. The rushes are laid side by side and this needle threaded with nettle twine is run through them at intervals of six inches. The long ends of the mats are bound with the same kind of grass which is used for the overlay in coiled baskets. This grass is left natural color, a yellowish white, or dyed black by being buried in the black mud along the rivers. The braid is applied in a twine stitch with the ends of the rushes folded over to one side. Usually one thread of the twine is black and the other natural color. When the mat is finished, a creaser of crescentic shape with a groove along the blade is run over the mat where the nettle twine has been drawn through in order to accentuate these lines. This process is described at much greater length by Eells.

These mats are made any length desired, the greatest width being controlled by the length of the rushes. Small mats, a foot or two square are used in the canoe for the paddler to kneel on. Longer mats are used for bedding, while mats twelve feet or so in length are used for wall hangings in the wooden houses and for the actual walls in temporary shelters and summer camps. Eells also mentions their use for protection from rain.[112]

Twine and Rope. Twine is made of nettle bark from which the barbs have been scraped with a mussel shell knife. The nettle is then dried, cut open and the pithy center removed. It is soaked in water and then dried. The twine is made by rubbing the nettle on the bare thigh. No spindles are ever used for this. In spinning the ends are joined so that long strips can be made which are then wound in balls. This string may be coarse or fine according to the amount rolled into it. Nettle twine is not mentioned by Eells, but he describes a twine made of the inner bark of the alder which is split and twisted. It is used for carrying straps on baskets and for fish nets.[113]

Rope or withes is made of cedar limbs which is selected from trees growing in wet ground, because they are more pliable than others. The leaves are stripped off and the limbs are twisted to make them pliable. Only coarse rope is made this way. It is used for whaling.

Dried pieces of kelp are tied together at the small ends and used for trolling.

[111] Eells, (a), 626-627.
[112] Eells, (a), 626.
[113] Eells, (a), 636.

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The bark of wild cherry, sqotlsɛn (Prunus emarginata), is used for lashing. It is cut in strips about three-eighths of an inch wide and peeled in pieces as long as possible.

Weaving. There is no woman among the Klallam today who ever wove in the old style and very few who saw their older women relatives doing it. Consequently, the material gathered is most fragmentary and does little more than establish the fact that the Klallam had certain kinds of woven things. The process is practically unknown; it may be inferred, however, that it was like that of their neighbors.

The Klallam formerly bred wool dogs as did most Sound tribes. This evidently ceased very shortly after Vancouver's time, for nobody now recalls the animals or even seeing a piece of material woven of dog's hair. Kane saw the wool dogs during his visit in 1846, but he mentions them in connection with the "Clallum" village in Victoria which was more probably Songish than Klallam. He describes the dogs as small animals with long black, brown or white hair. The wool was cut off with a knife and mixed with goosedown and a little white earth. This mixture was beaten with a stick and then twisted into threads on the bare thigh.[114]

More recently the Klallam wove blankets of mountain goat wool, which Curtis says they obtained from the Skiwamish.[115] These my informant knew about, although he never saw a Klallam woman weaving one. Much more common were blankets made of the fireweed cotton mixed with feathers of seagulls or ducks. These feathers were stripped from the quills and mixed with the cotton by being beaten with a sword shaped stick. This mixture is then spun on a spindle with a wooden whorl. No details about this are available. The blanket was woven on a roller loom; weaving proceeds on the warps in front of the bars and when this is completed it is shifted back so that the rear warps come to the front. Curtis adds the following about the preparation of materials for weaving. The Klallam made a mixture of hair of goats and dogs with the down of geese, ducks, gulls, the cottony fiber of fireweed and cattail spikes. These are beaten together in varying proportions or sometimes one is used alone and woven on a warp of nettle fiber. The nettle stalks are split, hung up to dry and beaten gently. Then they are held in clusters by the ends and combed with a yew wood comb until all pithy and woody substances are gone.[116]

The finished blanket is used in trading, but at potlatches it is torn in strips which are thrown to the people. Since the preparation of the wool is regarded as the hardest part of the work these strips were eagerly sought in order that they might be unraveled and the yarn used again for weaving. Mountain goat wool was bought by the Klallam from the Songish of Vancouver Island, who

[114] Kane, 210.

[115] Curtis, IX, 44. The "Skiwamish" are probably the Squamish of British Columbia from whom the Songish also obtained their wool.

[116] Curtis, IX, 44.

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in turn secured it from the Cowichan of the mainland. Occasionally it was gotten from the Skagit and Snuqualmi who were good hunters.

Basketry. The Klallam women make only two kinds of baskets, the watertight type and the openwork basket with straight or crossed warps. Eells lists eleven kinds of baskets classified by use and material, but on close analysis they can be reduced to the types mentioned here with the addition of a basket of mat rushes and a sack-like carrying basket made of grass.[117] Added to this in more recent times is a plaited basket made of split cedar. The watertight basket is made only by a few women and consequently brings a fairly high price. A large basket with designs is worth ten blankets. The open baskets every woman makes for herself. She needs large numbers of them for daily household use and for storing food.

The openwork basket (s'a"qwīē'īs) is made of split cedar twigs (stɛqwī'-sin). The twigs are best if gathered in the spring when the fresh sap is running. If they are not used immediately they are stored without any preparation except stripping off the leaves. Before using them, they are soaked overnight in water. The next day they are split. The tip is broken off toward the outside and then with the inside part in her teeth, the woman tears off a thin piece on the outside, separating a third of the piece, this thin piece being away from her body. The thicker piece is then split in two by the same process. The inside piece without any bark is used for the weft while the pieces with bark on one side are used for warp. This work as well as the actual making of the basket is always done in a shady place so that the cedar twigs will not dry out too readily.

The bottom of the basket, which is twilled, is started at the left upper corner. A piece of weft (kwu'ssuñ) is doubled for twining and knotted onto the end warp. Warp pieces (s'a"qwī) are taken long enough to form the two opposite sides of the basket and the bottom. They are then joined by the twining of the weft. When this row of twining (s'xō"sin) is finished, warp pieces are chosen long enough to form the narrow sides of the basket and the bottom. With the first of these the twilling is begun, passing over two and under two of the warps held firm by the row of twining. In twilling the second row the stitch moves one warp to the left, the third row is the reverse of the first, the fourth row is the reverse of the second, while the fifth row is again like the first. This is repeated for sixteen rows. The twilling is done from right to left. It is called tsak!au'wutc, which means the bottom of a basket.

When the twilling is finished the twining is taken up again at the upper right corner of the bottom and carried around the three remaining sides. In the basket studied, which is typical of its kind, there are twenty-six original warps on the long side and fifteen on the narrow side. When the second row of twining is put in, five additional warps are inserted at each corner in order to shape the basket. The twining rows are put in one inch apart until within the second row of the top where two rows are put in as close together as possible.

[117] Eells, (a), 627.

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Then the warps are cut off about four inches above the last row. To finish the basket several strong warp pieces are laid around the inside to form a rim. Then a strong weft piece is tied on the rim and coming from the inside out, encloses the bundle of rim rods and passes under each warp which has been bent to the right. The next wrapping folds in the end of the warp under the fold of the next warp.

The handle (q!wī'yen) is made of two or three whole young cedar limbs twisted together. They are sometimes put in the fire to make them limber before twisting them. The handle is put through under the rim with the short end brought back and bound to the handle with some nettle twine.

A variation of this type of basket is one with the warps crossed at every row of twining. Such a basket is called łamaqwai"is.

The watertight basket (sp!tcō')is made of cedar roots (q!ūtsañ) taken from large trees which are long and straight. They are washed, dried and stored for use. The heavy ones are split to make them even and then all the roots are divided into a first and second group, the better ones being taken for the weft and the others for the bundle foundation. The coiling is done with the aid of an awl (s'tsō'm) made of a duck's wing bone. The coiling is begun on the bottom and followed in a clockwise direction. The top is finished without any braid, the foundation at the very end being reduced a little and the weft of the coiling fastened securely by being led back under the last few stitches.

On each of the long sides are two handles of buckskin which are knotted in. The tumpline is attached to either two handles on one side if the load is light or to all four with the lines from the further ones crossing over the top of the basket.

Some baskets in the old days had designs that were made of an overlay of grass dyed black in the mud of the river or yellow with the root of the Oregon grape. Practically none of the baskets still in use or in the possession of the people today have any designs. On the few that I have seen the overlay is rubbed off to such an extent that the character of the design cannot be determined. These designs were not the property of any one basket maker.

Recently a third basket has been added to these, a plaited one made of split young cedar. The young trees are split into strips about one-half to three-fourths of an inch wide and very flat. The bottom of the basket is twilled just as are the openwork baskets. As soon as the bottom is turned the sides are plaited (tsałk!ai"is) in a plain checkerboard weave. At the top are two rows of cedar limb weft which are not woven in but laid inside the basket to form a rim and fastened with a single row of diagonal wrappings of cedar limb. The top is then finished in the same manner as the openwork twined basket.

These baskets are generally of good size, oblong and with a large, wide opening. They are called mauho'y. They are used for storing household things, especially clothing or wool ready for knitting.

Woodwork. The old woodworkers are gone. Even my oldest informant has not made any of the things described here with the exception of canoes.

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Canoes, or rather boats, are still made in dugout fashion, but they are broad and cumbersome craft compared to the slender beautiful canoes of older days. The articles manufactured of wood were canoes, paddles, dishes, spoons, boxes and cradles.

Boxes of cedar are made for storing valuable shells and blankets. These are generally about three and one-half feet long, two and one-half to three feet wide, and two feet high. The sides are made of four pieces of cedar which are joined by dovetailing, the tenons being about four inches long. A hole is bored down each joint and one long peg of elkbone is inserted. In some of the more poorly constructed boxes wooden pegs are used. The bottom is pegged on all the way around. The top is not fastened with hinges. The cover is so thick that they can cut a rabbet on the edge to make it fit the sides. These boxes are painted red. It is not known whether they were rendered waterproof. Eells states that these storage boxes as well as the wooden buckets have the four sides made of one piece. Furthermore, some had covers that fit over them completely to the bottom.[118]

Wooden articles are frequently painted, red, black and white being the principal colors. Red paint is made from a red ochre found on a bluff overhanging Sequim Bay between Washington Harbor and Blyn. The clay is burnt and powdered. For painting wood, the powder is mixed with dogfish or seal oil and salmon egg juice. The salmon eggs were chewed and the juice spit into the paint. To give the paint a gloss, some tallow is added. It is rubbed on the wood with shredded cedar bark. The white paint is made of white earth and the black of powdered charcoal mixed with oil.

The same paints are used for face painting. For this purpose they are either mixed with tallow or applied on a tallow base.

COMPARATIVE NOTES

The Klallam did not show great skill in manufactures, making only articles for their own use and adding to this limited supply desirable things obtained by trade with other tribes. Native manufacture, of course, passed away many years ago, so it is conceivable that there really was much more than the present generation is aware of. Still it is fairly certain that these people did not stand high in these arts in an area that is famous for its skill, especially in wood working. The things they did make were purely utilitarian with very little attempt at decoration of any sort.

The Klallam dressed the skins of deer and elk only, a trait shared generally by coast tribes. Compared to the peoples of the interior, their technique was very poor. There is some question as to whether this process included the smoking of the skins. If it was done at all, it certainly was not the thorough process employed by tribes who made greater use of skins. The Snohomish, who resemble the Klallam in regard to manufactured articles, are sup-

[118] Eells, (a), 628.

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posed to smoke skins an hour.[119] The Klallam do not use painted skins such as the Nootka and other northern tribes use.

Far more important for clothing and an infinite variety of other uses is shredded cedar bark. The process is practically alike everywhere. The cedar bark, split but unshredded, is used for mats by most tribes from the Makah northward. The Klallam do not make these themselves, but obtain them through trade with their neighbors. The Nisqually are supposed to have made cedar bark as well as rush mats. If this information is correct, they are the only Puget Sound tribes that made them. The rush mat is far more common among the Klallam and the tribes about the Sound and southward. Here again the process of making them is practically the same throughout the area of their distribution, which stretches along the coast southward to California and inland through the Great Basin wherever rushes or tule can be obtained. One difference between the Klallam and Snuqualmi method of manufacture is that the latter draw the creaser over the mat while the needle is still in it.[120] In this respect, I believe the Snuqualmi have the more widely used technique.

The weaving of blankets and garments from mountain goat or dog's wool, or the down of water fowl mixed with the cotton of fireweed or cat tail spikes disappeared so long ago among the Klallam and the majority of other tribes that it is very difficult to obtain accurate information. A more detailed study now being made will probably appear in this series in the near future. It seems that wool dogs were raised especially by the tribes on the coast who did not hunt the mountain goat. The Snohomish had herds of wool dogs, but the Snuqualmi, Skykomish and Nisqually never raised them.[121] In addition to the dog's wool, the Snohomish, just as the Klallam, bought mountain goat wool; their particular traders being the Skykomish.[122] The Klallam are probably the southernmost people on the coast who used this technique while on the Sound the Nisqually are the southern outpost. This type of weaving is especially developed by the Cowichan of British Columbia and the Fraser River tribes as far inland as the Lillooet and Thompson.

The Puget Sound tribes made very useful baskets, but compared to the Fraser River peoples their products are not so interesting or artistic, although the same technique is largely used, especially in sewn baskets. Each tribe made only a few kinds of baskets but actually possessed many varieties which they obtained through trade. The twined basket is by far the most common in this area, appearing either as an openwork basket with straight or crossed warps, or as a closely woven receptacle. The Skykomish, Snuqualmi, and Snohomish made a twined basket with twilled bottom like that of the Klallam. The Snuqualmi and Nisqually made coiled baskets, a technique which the Nisqually claim to have learned from the Klikitat. These baskets were used for cook-

[119] Haeberlin-Gunther, 27.
[120] Haeberlin-Gunther, 24, 25.
[121] Haeberlin-Gunther, 24.
[122] Haeberlin-Gunther, 26.

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ing.[123] The Snohomish, Snuqualmi and Nisqually women wove basket hats of the tight fitting brimless variety which occurs from Puget Sound southward, but is not used by the Klallam, who buy the larger cone shaped hat of the Makah.

Woodwork, one of the characteristic features of North Pacific coast tribes, is developed in truly marginal fashion by the Klallam. The work lacks the finish and artistic design in evidence further up the coast. Fastening the wood by sewing is not known to the Klallam but used by the Nisqually.[124] It may be that here again an old technique has been completely forgotten.

[123] *Ibid.*, 26, 27.
[124] Haeberlin-Gunther, 29.

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MEASUREMENTS AND TIME RECKONING

The three principal units of measurement are:

1. The finger's width. Anything less than a span is measured by the fingers, one, two, or three fingers wide.

2. Span (xwe'ekł): the distance between the thumb and forefinger outstretched.

3. Fathom (ta'xlen): the distance between the outstretched arms.

4. Pace (squxtalqwei'eñ). The length of logs is paced out. It is regarded as a rough measurement.

There is no real expression for distance, say between two villages; it is simply designated as near or far. Distance is not even measured by days of travel.[125]

The reckoning of time seems always to have been a subject of considerable dispute among the Klallam. Shamans and fishermen know best about the months and the appearance of the fish. Some say there are ten months in the year, others claim twelve. During the dark of the moon, called "between the months," people are always watching for the new moon. The following tale is a typical instance of time telling.

A shaman said, "This moon is nearly gone; it is three-quarters gone. In the last quarter of this moon we will see the first run of herring. You will see some spawning inside the spit in the last quarter. We can expect them any day now." That very night they heard the sea gulls screaming. They went out in canoes and the bend inside the spit was full of herring.

Seasons of the year are also determined rather vaguely by the coming of birds or the position of the sun. There is a story about two varieties of eagles, a larger (qwaieñesin) and a smaller (ts!iuxts). The large ones come to the beach constantly to fish while the smaller ones live on stored food and come down only late in spring. The large ones fool the smaller ones by telling them that the foam on the edge of the tide is ice, so that it is very late in the spring, about May, before they come down.

The old men watch the sunrise and take note of the place where the sun appears. When the sun reaches a certain point and starts back again, they know spring is coming. The old men at Washington Harbor village state that when the sun rises two days in succession in a certain hollow in the hills, the winter is about to begin. They do not observe the summer solstice.

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[125] Eells does not give the finger's width denomination. He defines the span (although he does not call it that) from the end of the thumb to the tip of the middle finger, hand outstretched. In addition to the fathom, he gives the following two units: (1) from the shoulder to the end of the corresponding hand, arm outstretched, and, (2) from the shoulder to the end of the opposite hand, arm extended, which are approximately half fathoms. In contradiction to the statement that there was no real expression for distances in travel he states that the traveling standard was the distance a person could do in a day, a vague measurement (Eells, (f), 177).

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The twelve months of the year are:

tu'unten "first month of the year"
siaekumaɛñł (meaning unknown)
xᵘsL!aemalwux "when the frogs come out"
xūxū'yis "just between everything, no fishing"
tcukxyehē'nes "big geese fly
kłukłēyehē'nes "small geese fly"
qwīa'tctin "finished digging camas"
emene' ois (meaning unknown)
paq!ia'unx "leaves turning yellow"
wasia'nux "leaves dropping off"
yū'tl "the oldest"
tceqwaɛsɛn "the quiet month"

The beginning of the year is another unsettled matter. In naming the months two Klallam named tceqwaɛsɛn, December, first although they agreed that tsu'unten means "the first month".

The time of day is indicated by the following expressions:

cak!ɛntasasɛqwatci "to open the earth", dawn
qwatcid early morning, directly after sunrise
q!eiyid noon
īmustseɛñiñ just before dark
tañɛn evening, just after dark
ɛsinna't night
tsutsinna't "night broken in two," midnight.

The winds are referred to as people. The Klallam are one of the tribes in this area that tells wind stories; a feature that has a very marked and limited distribution. The winds are:

tsa'ōtct northwind
tsautlunł south wind
ska'eñet east wind
q!eux^{u} west wind

The directions are

tla'atc north
kaq!a'a east
q!wa'awuxł west
tcaeyuk "up in the woods"; there is no real name for this direction which is south from the shore villages.

COMPARATIVE NOTES

The Klallam method of reckoning time according to the lunations lacks an intercalary period necessary to adjust the difference between their twelve named months and the twelve to thirteen lunations. This feature is common on the North Pacific Coast. Since no definite number of days is assigned each month, quarrels frequently arise as to whether the ne[illegible]h has begun; a

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cultural feature shared by the Nootka where the names of the months are well known, but the exact sequence and the exact beginning of each month is a matter of uncertainty. The Lillooet, Shuswap and Thompson begin the year at the time they go into the underground houses, which is about December, although with some bands this moving does not correspond with the calendar.[126]

The Kwakiutl observe the winter solstice by noting the extreme point the sun reaches on the horizon. The Nootka observe it even more accurately.[127]

Along the coast practically every group has a quiet period or "taboo" month. This is the period of feasting and dancing, a period of rest from fishing, hunting and other pursuits. It is a period that is usually spent in the permanent village, except as whole groups go to other villages on invitation to share in the dancing. The Makah regard August the month of rest, this being a little earlier than the majority of coast tribes. December is much more common. This the Klallam share with the Tsimshian, the Stsɛelis, and other coast tribes as far north as the Point Barrow Eskimo, the Unalit and the Eskimo of the Lower Yukon.[128]

[126] Cope, 145, 131; Swan, (a), 91; Cope, 154.
[127] Cope, 122.
[128] Swan, (a), 91; Cope, 151, 153, 155, 156.

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DRESS AND PERSONAL DECORATION

GARMENTS

It is very difficult to get accurate information about dress because the native costume has been abandoned so long that it is almost completely forgotten. Moreover, the present generation are so very sophisticated that they dislike acknowledging the comparative nakedness of their ancestors. It is certain, although I could get no definite statement about it, that formerly men, as well as children under twelve, wore no garments. Then the girls put on fringed cedar bark skirts that hung from the waist to the knees, as noted by Kane,[129] with a cape or blanket over the shoulders when necessary. This skirt is often abandoned in the house and when a group of women are working by themselves. This is the custom of all surrounding peoples as well.

A tale which illustrates this desire of women to work unhampered by clothing and at the same time is an expression of Klallam humor is the following:

> In the old days the country swarmed with ravens who were notorious for their thievishness. One day a group of women were on the beach digging clams. In order to have more freedom at their work they removed their cedar bark skirts. One woman hung hers over the basket of dried salmon which had been brought for their meal. Soon they saw a raven alight and pick at the food in the basket. The women chased him. When he flew up he had the cedar bark skirt caught in his claws.

The rendition of this story was accompanied by many chuckles.

The men, according to one informant, also wear the cedar bark skirt, but I doubt this information. Hunters wear a small leather apron or a shirt of buckskin which hung to the knees. This shirt has sleeves. The garment is sewn together with deer sinew and an awl. The shirt is laced up the front. Other men also wear these shirts but women, on the other hand, never wear garments of buckskin. Skin garments are not decorated.

Cedar bark skirts and capes are made in the same way. Strips of cedar bark twice the length of the garment are folded in the middle and tied over on a buckskin thong, which serves as a belt.

Capes and blankets of other materials as well are used. Skins of beaver, sea otter and bear are used with the hair left on. These blankets are pinned together on the chest with a long wooden pin. Blankets are woven of mountain goat's wool, dog's wool, or mixed duck feathers and fireweed cotton. These are used for bedding as well as clothing.

Hats are worn by the Klallam but never made by them. They are traded from the Makah. These hats were worn by men and women, according to hearsay, for the present generation deny ever seeing any worn. The hats are conical in shape and tied under the chin with a deerskin thong. They are especially good for keeping off the rain.

Vancouver describes the clothing of the Port Discovery Bay people as follows: "Their native woolen garment was most in fashion, next to it the skins of deer, bear, etc.; a few wore dresses manufactured from bark, which like their woolen garments were very neatly wrought."[130]

[129] Kane, 209.
[130] Vancouver, I, 252.

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CARE OF THE BODY

From the time a child is born, the shape of its body is carefully attended to. Every day when the child is bathed its limbs are massaged to make them straight and slender. In later life children are told after bathing to rub their bodies with rotten hemlock or cedar bark to make the skin soft. The skin of the face is kept soft by rubbing deer tallow into it, in summer to prevent sunburn, in winter to prevent chapping. The deer tallow is also used as a base for paint.

The hair is washed with leaves of a weed with white flowers like chickweed. This makes it grow. Deer and elk tallow is rubbed on the head to make the hair smooth. At puberty a girl's hair is plucked out along the hair line in order to make the forehead high. Both men and women pluck out the eyebrows to make them even. This is done with the fingernails. Very few men wear mustaches or beards. Wilkes observed that beards were not uncommon.[181] The scarce growth of facial hair is also removed with the fingers.

Although teeth are not particularly cared for, the consensus of opinion is that formerly teeth were in much better condition than they are among the present population. Teeth wear down as people get old, but seldom does decay set in. The deciduous teeth are pulled out with a string if necessary. Children are always told to throw deciduous teeth that fall out, into the water and call on the porpoise or sawbill duck who have good teeth, to give them new ones like theirs.

PERSONAL DECORATION

The Klallam do not use as many ornaments as some of their northern neighbors. Paint and a little tattooing are the favorite modes of decoration. The paint used is a red clay (tū'mxł) which is burnt in the fire. The best paint is obtained at a certain place along Hood Canal. It is dug out there by the Klallam and sold to the Makah and the tribes on Vancouver Island. The paint is carried in a little oblong bag of deerskin. It is applied on a base of deer tallow, being spread on with the fingers. Both men and women paint their faces. Children's faces are painted when they reach the age of six.[182]

The face is painted every day as well as on ceremonial occasions. There are no designs used, with the exception of occasional diagonal lines of charcoal painted over the cheeks, running out from the eyes. This is done especially by young girls. The part of the hair is also painted red. During mourning the red paint is left off but black is not substituted. During the ritual of the secret society members paint their faces black with charcoal. As long as the black paint is on the face, a person is not permitted to laugh. Sometimes during potlatches a person with a powerful spirit would paint his hands and half his forearm as a token of his power.

There are certain men who know how to tattoo. They are hired to do what little tattooing the Klallam had. Such decoration has no meaning and

[181] Wilkes, (b), 25.
[182] For the preparation of paint, see p. 224.

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there are no designs that belong to a particular person. The face is never tattooed, only the hands, the forearm and occasionally the legs. Stars (crosses?) and straight lines are used on the hands and curves run around the forearm. There was one woman who had dogs tattooed on her legs just above the ankles, but this was exceptional. The tattooing is done with a thorn which is held in a special cedar stick and fastened with pitch. The skin is punctured with this, charcoal is inserted and pushed in with a mussel shell rubbed on the surface of the skin.

Women wear their hair in two braids hanging in front. A girl has her hair braided for the first time during her puberty ceremony. Men tie the hair at the back of the head with the hair itself or leave it hanging in a braid. They wear it in a knot on the head when they go to war, wearing a bearskin cap which is tied under the chin.

During the ritual secret society members loosen the hair, rub it with water and sprinkle it with white swan down (łlaqaxan). This is kept in a little bearskin bag and used only during the secret society ritual.

Both men and women of light complexion are considered especially handsome.[183] The lighter a woman's hair, the more she is admired. A person nicely built and with a light complexion is called i'ūmic atstai'añux, meaning a light person. A very light person is paqslani or paqswetka. There have been a few albinos among the Klallam. They have always been very much admired for their fair complexions and light hair. The old people were very fond of these light children.

Women should be slim with well formed arms and legs. Men should have wide shoulders and nice legs. Good teeth are essential to a handsome appearance.

[183] This was noted by Wilkes in 1839 so the preference is of fairly long standing. (Wilkes, IV, 300).

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THE CYCLE OF LIFE

BIRTH CUSTOMS

Pregnancy Taboos. During pregnancy a woman does not eat the meat of any animal that suffered in being killed; for instance if a hunted deer swims out in the water and froths at the mouth before being killed, she would not eat of it, for fear that the child might also foam at the mouth. A pregnant woman does not eat the black shag duck (sto'mɛtc) because the child might faint and turn black. The husband of a pregnant woman cannot hunt raccoon or wild cat because the child would become sick and act like these animals. During pregnancy a woman always lays her blankets crosswise because if she laid them in the ordinary way, the child would be delivered feet first. A woman would always roll in her sleep so that the child may not adhere to the walls of the womb.

A pregnant woman is always warned not to drink water a day old and not to eat stale food. She goes bathing every morning and evening in order that the child might be large and healthy. My informant knew of several women who did not bathe frequently enough and as a consequence gave birth to thin, weak children. In the old days, my informant added, people were not concerned with the comfort of the mother and insisted on every possible means for securing large children regardless of the pain which might be caused at delivery. During pregnancy a woman chews the root of the thistle to prevent nausea. A woman never tried to conceal pregnancy; in fact my informant considered it a strange question to ask.

Delivery. During confinement the woman stays in the family house, going into a far corner which is screened off from the remainder of the house by mats. During delivery the place is kept very quiet for any noise might cramp the child in the womb. The woman is attended by one or more midwives who are paid one dollar and a blanket for their services. The husband stays away unless there is no other help available, then he assists. A shaman might be called if there is any difficulty. He would, however, never touch the woman. The shaman would swirl water in a basin, catching it in his hands and throwing it toward the woman but never actually reaching her. At the beginning of labor a piece of shredded cedar bark is tied around the woman's waist so that the child may not move upward toward the heart for that would make the woman weak. The child is delivered on a pile of shredded cedar bark laid on the floor, but no pit is dug there. Delivery takes place while the woman remains in a half squatting position holding onto a rope hung from the roof.

While the woman is in labor she is given the leaves of the Indian plum (Osmaronia cerasiformis) to chew. If the afterbirth does not come she is given a broad seaweed (q!a'qa^{qa}) crushed in salt water to cause vomiting. If there is any further pain they administer a decoction made of the scraped inner bark of the Indian plum soaked in water half an hour. This is given to drive the blood out.

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While the child is being born the husband, parents and parents-in-law of the woman pray:

xīyatī'x^{u} sEqwa'tci
save earth
sīa nuñ nu'na
this my daughter.

After the child is born they pray to the earth again, saying:

aitswītī'x^{u} sEqwa'tci
I am glad earth
tsī'a nuñ nu'na
you save my daughter.

The midwife cuts the umbilical cord at the length of about two finger joints. This together with the afterbirth is taken many miles off and buried by the father of the child. The piece of the cord that later falls off is sewed into a buckskin bag and worn around the child's wrist or neck until puberty when it is taken off by the parents, if it has not been lost in the meanwhile. Children are told that they will become "foolish" if they lose it.

The father of one of my informants had two wives, the first of whom gave birth to a child. She went out in the snow for the delivery of the child and when she came back with the baby she asked her husband to go out and bury the afterbirth or to stick it in the fork of a madrona tree. When he came to the spot he found a fire. He returned to tell his wife. She at once felt as though the fire were consuming her inside and died very shortly after. The infant died from lack of care. The fire had been started on the afterbirth by the other wife because she hated her co-wife and hoped in this way to cause her death so that she could be alone with her husband.

Treatment of the infant and mother. As soon as the child is born it is bathed in lukewarm water in a shallow, maple wood dish. Cold water is sprinkled on the child's back to make it strong. After the bath the baby's body is rubbed with dogfish oil. In rubbing on this grease they push up the cheeks, massage the legs so that they will not be chunky, rub the abdomen so that it will not be big and push down the sides of the fingers to make them slender and tapering. Dogfish oil is also put in the eyes of a newborn child.

After the delivery the woman is put close to the fire and warm cloths are applied to her abdomen to keep the blood flowing. Her abdomen is possibly not bandaged although the same informant later stated that it is bandaged with broad bands of cedar bark. The mother goes out bathing the day after the child is born, if it is at all possible. For four or five days after the birth or as long as she stays in bed the mother uses a wooden head scratcher to prevent baldness.

Nursing. A baby is not nursed for about twenty-four hours after birth. During this period the child is given a little dogfish grease to drive the "bad" out of its stomach. Then it is given a horse clam to suck, prepared in the following manner: the meat of a skinned clam is chopped very fine and moistened with the milk obtained from a wom[illegible] nursing a child.

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Meanwhile the mother prepares herself for nursing her baby. Some rocks are heated and sprinkled with water. The woman leans over these steaming rocks and covers herself with mats, remaining for about an hour. This is described as "cooking her breasts" and is supposed to make her milk richer and more plentiful. If a woman does not have enough milk she repeats this procedure. While a mother is nursing her child she eats many clams because being milky, they bring rich milk. She does not eat berries or berry sprouts for they would cause the child colic. She could eat all kinds of meat and fish. She drinks much water often with ground mussel shells in it to increase her milk. Before the child is allowed to nurse an adult sucks the mother's breasts to take out the first milk, which is not good.

Cradle board. The cradle (plŏ'ts's) is a dugout of cedar made by the father or grandfather, either before the birth of the child or immediately after. It is made a little over a foot wide and about two and one-half feet long including the handle (s'kl!xwūstsī'n) at the top. The handle has a hole large enough for the hand to grasp it. The cradle is the same width throughout its length. It is hollowed out with a hand adze, in the same manner as a canoe. Some cradles have the sides at right angles with the bottom, others are rounded on the inside, since that is more comfortable. The walls are about one inch thick and very low so that the child really does not lie in it but on top.

Along the sides are holes (tsīts'sla'kwan) for binding thongs, four on each side, while on each side of the head are two holes for the buckskin thongs which fasten the head pad. The first set of thongs is fastened at the upper left hand hole, knotted on the outside, carried straight across to the opposite hole, then diagonally to the second hole on the left side, straight across to the right and fastened. This thong binds the trunk of the child, the second one tied in the same way binds the hips and legs. Tied to the lowest cross lacing is another thong which is carried around the feet and fastens them to the lower end of the cradle.

In the bottom of the cradle used for boys are three vertical slits (tłsa'qwan) about three-fourths of an inch wide and three inches long, cut just beneath the buttocks to allow for drainage. The bottom is then covered with the softest shredded cedar bark, piled thicker at the foot, for it is considered to aid digestion to have the feet raised. Under the neck and knees are tight rolls of cedar bark which are fastened by thongs through holes in the bottom of the cradle. The roll under the knees is called tsuno'a'tcin. The baby wears no clothing but is packed into the fine cedar bark and covered with cedar bark blankets, two or three as the weather requires. The blanket (swi'nmī) is made of broad strips of cedar bark which are shredded slightly but not enough to loosen the fibers completely. These strips are doubled over so that the shredded sides are out. At the fold a piece of twisted cedar bark is twined in and at the bottom the rough edges are turned in and the edge is finished by twining. These little blankets as well as the padding are soaked in water when soiled, washed and dried. A cleanly woman changes this padding and blanket every day.

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The first cradle is made large enough to last about six months. Then it is a matter of choice whether the child has another. Some women, if they expect to go out much digging roots or picking berries, like to have another cradle because it is easier to carry the child. Even after the child walks he often sleeps in his cradle. In early infancy the child is kept on the board the greater part of the time. During the day his arms are taken out of the binding. The cradle is leaned against the house or tied to a sapling by four cords and rocked with a rope fastened to the mother's great toe.[134]

There is another type of cradle made of a rush mat which is used in case there is no time to make a wooden one or used by poor people who cannot afford the other. This cradle is called tsē"tsin. A small rush mat is folded over three times in rectangular form, then a limb of pussy willow which is very supple is woven into the edge by being merely pushed through the mat. This lifts and stiffens the edge and gives the cradle just a little depth. It has no handle. There are no regular holes but the binding thongs are pushed through the mat at the proper places. The boy's cradle has no drainage slits but the mat is porous. The padding and rolls used in the cedar cradle are put in this also.

Flattening the head. A certain degree of flattening of the head is regarded as a necessary mark of social standing but the flattening is not as extreme among the Klallam as among some other Northwestern groups.[135] Slaves are not allowed to deform the heads of their children but if a man from the upper class should marry a slave girl the man's mother or grandmother would tend to the flattening of the children's heads. In spite of this outward sign, it would always be known that they had slave blood. They make fun of people with round heads, saying their heads look like rocks.

The head is deformed during earliest infancy.[136] Immediately after birth when the child is put into the cradle a pad of cedar bark is tied on the forehead. The pad (katc) is about six inches long and three and one-half to four inches wide. The pad is made just like the little blanket and has a flat stone folded into it. The pad with the stone is laced directly on the head and on it is put a similar pad without a stone. These are tied to the cradle by means of horizontal buckskin thongs through the two holes made at each side of the cradle. The pad is also tied vertically by another thong which is fastened to the cross lacing at the lower edge and through a hole in the cradle at the upper end. This is done to keep the pad from slipping over the child's face and possibly smothering it.

The pad with the stone is left on about two weeks, then the pad without the stone is used for another month. There are just a few women who know how to do this and when the right amount of pressure has been used. One of them is called on to inspect the head and give orders for the removal of

[134] Seen at Port Discovery by Wilkes (IV, 299).

[135] A Klallam told Gibbs that Dokᵘibɛ̄ first told them to do it in order to become handsome (Gibbs, (a), 211).

[136] Kane, 209.

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the pad. After the pad is taken off a strip of cedar bark is laid over the forehead to protect it.

Birth control and abortion. A few old women knew of a medicine which they give a woman to drink immediately after the birth of a child to prevent future conception. The medicine is made of the bitter seeds of a plant mixed with red paint powder. It is supposed to make a woman very ill and is likely to make her weak for the remainder of her life. My informant states that her mother knew the medicine, and offered to give her some but she would not take it because she feared the results. She pointed out one woman who took it after she had had five children, all of whom except one have died! My informant did not know of any cases of abortion.

Aids to fertility. Shamanistic assistance is often sought to induce conception because people joked about a childless couple. Dr. Bill would put water in his mouth and spit it on the woman's abdomen while singing. In one instance he was called to help a middle aged woman who had been married for sixteen years and was still childless. He was unsuccessful and explained that he should have been called while she was still young. There are also some medicines used to induce conception but they were unknown to my informant.

Twins. Multiple births were regarded as animal-like by the Klallam. The parents of twins were believed to possess some kind of supernatural power, similar to that of a person who has just returned from a guardian spirit experience. Contact with the parents of twins might cause death. As soon after the birth as the mother could walk the parents moved into the woods for a period of two months. During this time they were not allowed to eat fresh fish or meat. Another informant extended the period of this food taboo to one year. The mother fasted for ten days after the birth. The parents of twins were not permitted to come near salt or fresh water for one year, neither could they hunt, fish or dig clams. While this taboo was in effect their relatives supported them. If all these regulations were faithfully carried out it was believed that they would receive some supernatural power.

Sometimes twins were disposed of immediately after birth. "They never grew up anyway," my informant added, "for they never received proper attention." Young people were not permitted to see twins until they were two or three months old because they were "too strong."

The following are two instances of procedure at the birth of twins:

The Duke of Wellington was at Neah Bay at sealing time when the news came that he was the father of twin girls. He was sent away immediately because fish and seals would not come near the father of twins.

A woman from Clallam Bay was camping with her family on Hood Canal when she gave birth to twins. It was during the fishing season so she was forced to go home on land carrying her children on her back because she would spoil the fishing if she traveled by canoe.

Twins were called tcīouwī'ya.

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CARE AND TRAINING OF CHILDREN

Children are told to rise early in order to greet the sun. Running on the beach makes for strength. They are urged to swim as much as possible, surely at least every morning throughout the year. The water goes through the skin to the blood and this makes them healthy. When children rise early they are warned not to eat before the family's morning meal, for this would make them gluttons. Children are told to keep their teeth clean by picking out particles of food with a duck's quill. They must also wash out their mouths with water before retiring. If they do not do this their breath will be bad.

When a child loses his deciduous teeth he is told to throw them into the salt water and call on the blackfish and the sawbill duck to give him white teeth.

Boys and girls play together until the latter are about twelve years old. They like to play the laughing game and to give mock shamanistic performances. Small canoes are made for them to use. Fathers and grandfathers carve wooden dolls for the girls, which the women relatives dress. A boy who touches a doll is always laughed at. The chief amusements of the children are playing at the occupations which will become their duties later in life. Boys soon learn to carry packs and pick up wood. They go fishing with the men in order to learn how. A boy's first catch of salmon is always celebrated. He takes the fish to his grandmother who prepares and cooks it. His parents invite their friends to feast on it. If his father is wealthy he gives a few presents away on this occasion. The same is true when a youngster brings home the first game.

Girls are given small matting needles which the old women delight in making for them. They also take short pieces that their mothers cannot use in basketry to make little baskets of their own.

Children frequently have pets. Small seals are one of the favorites. They take the seals swimming with them. Children are never allowed to bring birds into the house. Girls are not allowed to play with dogs for they claim that if a girl loved a dog and slept with him she would give birth to pups. The familiar dog husband story is cited as an example.

Boys are trained early in endurance. My informant's father at the age of eight or nine was given food, a little dried salmon, once in five days. While his mother was doing this she warned all the neighbors not to give him food if he came to beg. She kept this up a long time to make him strong.

NAMES

Names belong to a family and are used only by its members. The name of a relative who died recently is never used until the feeling against mentioning it has worn off. Thus, a young man would rarely be named for his father but might be named for his grandfather.[187]

[187] Eells says that a Klallam will take the name of a dead father, grandfather or other direct paternal relative. This statement is probably true with the reservation that the person has been dead long enough for the name ta[illegible] [illegible]roken (Eells, (a), 656).

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As soon as a child begins to walk it is given a name,[188] but not an important one because the name he gets later in life has to be a greater one. One man was named tu'nitctun, which means the noise a child makes in walking. Then before his marriage he received the name cīe'mtst which his grandfather had had. Before his second marriage he received the name kūsqwa'stɛn, which means hot like the sun in the middle of the day. This name had been given to one of his ancestors by the sun.

At each giving of a name there is a feast that may be limited to close relatives but may, if the family is wealthy enough, assume the proportions of a large potlatch.[189] Very often a name is bestowed at the potlatch given by a close relative.

As far as has been found out there are no stated times when names are changed such as puberty or marriage. Any time a person has enough property to do honor to a great name in his family he may give a potlatch and assume the name.

When my informant was about seventeen, shortly after he had been married for the first time, his mother's brothers gave a potlatch at Washington Harbor. During the potlatch they placed this man out on the floor and piled blankets and money around him, telling the people that he was going to change his name to telesmī'tɛm, the name of his paternal grandfather. Then they gave the blankets and money to the people related to this name.

PUBERTY AND MENSTRUAL CUSTOMS

As among the Nootka, the girls' puberty ceremony (xwa'tłes) is very important in the social life of the Klallam. It is a girl's formal introduction to adult society and proclaims the fact that she is now ready to receive offers of marriage. A girl for whom this feast is not given has really no social standing in the community. Should a family be too poor to give the feast, some of her relatives, a brother or sister of her parents or her grandparents would invite the guests for her. The guests for this feast are usually limited to the women of the village, who are invited by the girl's mother or the female relative who is taking charge of the ceremony.

Before the ceremony the girl undergoes a period of seclusion and fasting, ranging from six days to two weeks. During this period she is not even given water. She is not allowed much sleep, for these hardships are supposed to train her to endure hardships in case of war. Should she laugh during this period it would spoil her face, while talking would make a continuous talker of her later. During this seclusion she is kept in a screened-off corner of the house or in a little box-like room that is suspended over the bed benches. Every morning her mother rouses her very early and taking her outdoors rubs her eyes with grass moist with dew. This will keep her eyes well in old age. Then she bathes in fresh water, for salt water spoils the skin, and rubs her

[188] Eells, (a), 656.
[189] *Ibid.*

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body with twigs to make her skin soft. When they return to the house her mother combs her hair and braids it into one or two tight braids which are tied with red cedar bark string. During the whole period the girl may not touch her hair because it would then fall out. She uses a head scratcher. When the hair is parted for braiding small portions are laid on alternate sides and the part is painted red. The girl is made more beautiful by having the hairs along the forehead plucked out to make the forehead higher. The eyebrows are also shaped by massage.

After these preparations each morning she spends the day sitting on a bed of mats in her corner of seclusion. She stays naked because clothing and blankets would smell of her perspiration. She spends the day making mats and baskets, otherwise she would be lazy in womanhood. The products of her labors are given to the woman who attends her during her seclusion, generally an aunt or a grandmother.

The first food she is allowed to eat after the period of fasting is a little dried spring salmon. Very small portions are given to her the first few days. During the seclusion the girl has a string in which she ties a knot for every day passed. Not every girl does this for some are not interested in the duration of their seclusion.

When the period of seclusion is over the women who are invited gather in the girl's house to sing. The girl sits on the floor on mats and the women stand around her. A strong woman beats the drum while many of them keep time by beating with sticks. The girl herself never sings. The songs used on such occasions are very definite personal property. Only the owner can start the song, but once it is begun everyone sings it. When a woman dies her songs for the puberty ceremony are passed on to her daughter or granddaughter. The subject of these songs is a woman's love affairs. She would sing of a jealous husband or a lover, especially of the love affairs she had had when she was a young girl. One song that my informant remembered was composed by a woman who had seen an eagle with a fish in its mouth. Her song is:

akłamama kła'ētc
Oh you, flesh quivering on the hip
stangōtca qiwītxana'taux
What is it that you are carrying?

When the singing is over the girl's parents give presents, calico in recent times, to the women who helped sing. On the last day, the girl's father invites the men for a feast but they are not given any presents.

Now the girl is ready to receive proposals of marriage and is treated like a woman. Until her marriage she is very carefully guarded, always being accompanied by an older woman when she leaves the house. She now wears the woman's costume consisting of a fringed cedar bark skirt and the blanket worn over the shoulders. During childhood she had worn a straight dress of buckskin.

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The Klallam at Jamestown say they gave up the ceremony because the last girls for whom it was celebrated died so early in life. Some felt that the ceremony had been the cause of it.

During every menstrual period a woman retires to a screened off corner of the house. She fasts the first day of the period. She pursues her regular household duties but keeps away from everybody, especially from men and boys. She would not cook for men who had great spirit power for it would destroy their power.

If a man accidentally came near a menstruating woman he would at once go in the woods to bathe and fast. He would sleep a few nights in the open without any blankets. In such a case he would never go to a shaman for purification.

A woman during her menstrual period did not use a scratcher or a tube for drinking. She did not count the time between periods by lunations.

MARRIAGE

Marriage regulations differ according to the social standing of the individuals involved. People of high rank want their sons and daughters to marry outside of the tribe on account of the political ties that are established in this way. If, however, such a marriage cannot be arranged then it becomes necessary to marry a first cousin in order to avoid a union with a person of lower rank. Ordinarily it is not desirable to marry such a close relative; in fact, extra-tribal marriages are rationalized as being necessary to avoid marrying one of even remote kinship. If a mate from another tribe could not be secured then at least village exogamy is desirable. There are no sibs among the Klallam.

Poor people cannot afford to marry outside the village or tribe because they are not able to give the necessary feasts. They must make the best arrangement possible in their own village, avoiding parallel and cross cousins of close degrees if they can.

In addition to the avoidance of marriage with cousins of close degree, a person should not marry his parent-in-law after the death of his mate. After the death of his wife it is conceivable that a man might marry his step-daughter, provided she was not related to him in any other way. No instance of such a union could be recalled.

It is definitely felt that marriage with a close cousin should not take place unless persons of high rank are involved who can find no other suitable mate. A man at Dungeness eloped with his cross cousin's daughter. The girl's parents forced him to marry her. This is a good example of the Klallam attitude that any affair of this sort must terminate in marriage, regardless of the marriage restrictions which their kinship might impose. This man was later teased by his neighbors who said that his son was also his grandson, the child of a cross cousin's daughter being called grandson.

Mary Wood told me that in the old days she should not have married her

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present husband because their mothers were the daughters of parallel cousins. Recently two young people of very remote kinship were married at Jamestown. At the wedding the Prince of Wales, one of the men of high standing among them and the son of one of their famous chiefs, rose and explained that whereas the marriage would not have been approved in the old days, it must be sanctioned today when there were so few Klallam left.

When marrying into another tribe the exchange of gifts is conducted on a much larger scale so that such marriages become a criterion of wealth. A young man who does not have at his disposal a substantial amount of food and presents does not dare to go to another people. A girl whose parents are not known for their wealth beyond the limits of the tribe is not likely to be sought by a stranger.

The Klallam do not marry into all neighboring tribes with equal readiness. The marriages most desired are with northern tribes, especially the people of Vancouver Island. Old people still boast of daughters who married Indians of British Columbia, and the descendants of women who were brought across the strait are always looked up to. They like to marry Makah. There is not a single record of an alliance with Quilleute or Quinault although they know these people. Of the Sound people they most frequently marry Skokomish. There are some instances of marriage with Snohomish but they are not highly considered. Mary Wood said that when they saw any Snohomish canoes coming mothers would hide their marriageable daughters because they did not want the visitors to offer marriage. But often when a proposal was refused the girl would die soon after. This was attributed to the powerful spirits which these Snohomish would send into the girl as revenge. There is one marriage of recent years with a Lummi but there seem to be none with the Skagit and Swinomish who are equally close and quite as accessible. It is noteworthy that the Klallam do not intermarry with all the tribes whom they called to potlatches or met at the potlatches of others. Yet it is conceivable that such meetings may have been important in bringing about intertribal alliances. There may be some significance then in the discriminations the Klallam make.

The statements above give the Klallam theory regarding intertribal marriages. When, however, I list all the marriages recorded in the genealogies I find that the practice does not agree. In the last five generations, of which two are still living, there has been the following distribution of marriages:

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Klallam men with:

Puyallup	1
Skokomish	3
Snohomish	1
Chemakum	1
Makah	3
Saanich*	1
Cowichan*	1
Beecher Bay Klallam*	1
British Columbia Indian* (tribe unknown)	1
Alaskan Indian* (tribe unknown)	1
Total	14

Klallam women with:

Skokomish	1
Chemakum	2
Makah	2
Saanich*	2
Songish*	1
Beecher Bay Klallam*	1
Total	9

Those marked with an asterisk are tribes to the north. In this same group there were 34 marriages of Klallam with Klallam of which 29 were unions between people of different villages.[140]

It is very difficult here where the caste system is not as rigid as it is further north to find out definitely which families belonged to the lower ranks. If that were known in this instance these extra-tribal marriages could perhaps be more readily interpreted. I know definitely that several of the families whose marriages are recorded belong to the upper class, for among them are village and tribal chieftains. Yet these data show that although marriages with other tribes are desired, they were not accomplished as frequently as they would have liked and that they had to content themselves with marriages into other Klallam villages.

There are two regular ways of proposing for the hand of a girl; either the young man goes, or his parents or his uncle go to ask for him. When the suitor goes he enters the girl's house and sits down on the coldest side of the fire, near the door. Whenever a young man comes in this way the girl's parents know what he wants. They ignore him or else treat him very rudely. After a meal they may pour the water used for washing directly beside him or heap any other indignity upon him that they can think of. In this way they try out his temper. Some young men cannot endure this and leave after a day or two. Others who are very determined in their suit stay for five or six days. At the end of that time the girl's parents will take the young man's hand and

[140] It is interesting to compare this list with the one given by Eells (e, 35), which was part of the information obtained in the census of 1880-1881. Of a population of 485, 296 were termed full blood Klallam, while the intertribal mixtures were listed as follows:

30 part Cowichan	10 part Nanaimo
28 part Makah	9 part Skagit
27 part Twana	5 part Snohomish
23 part "Victoria Indians"	3 part each Nootka, Lummi, Port Madison
20 part Quilleute	1 part each Sooke, Puyallup, Nitinat, Bellingham Bay
16 part Chemakum	15 part white
10 part Samish	

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lead him to a better place behind the fire. If a young man is a good spearman he brings his spear with him as a symbol of this ability for everyone wants a good hunter. A man known to be a good hunter or fisherman is not tested so severely.

If the man comes from another village he is often accompanied by friends and relatives, filling one or more canoes. They arrive singing canoe songs. All the people of the village come out to see them land. The young suitor is taken to the girl's house by his friends and left there. The girl's people will have nothing to do with the visitors, leaving it for the others in the village to entertain them. At a proposal, the suitor's people would sometimes carry valuable gifts to the girl's family. They step out of their canoes with blankets and shell money in their hands. If the young man is not accepted these gifts are returned.

During the period when the young man is sitting in the girl's house, her relatives are called together to judge him. If they all like him the parents consent to the marriage. If half the relatives do not agree the parents send the suitor away.

If the young man is accepted his people bring several canoe loads of food for a big feast. During this feast the father of the bride gives the groom a suit of the finest clothing. The bride's other relatives also bring clothing for the groom. During the marriage feast the headmen of the bride's and groom's villages make speeches telling the people that the young couple should now be regarded as husband and wife. Then the bride's father pays the groom's people for the food they brought and also gives a small amount to each of the men who come in the party. The steersman of each canoe gets most, for he is generally a wealthy man. The people who bring food to a wedding are called k!ōsa"en.

At the close of the feast the bride's father sings his family songs which he inherited. (See p. 307). The speaker who also shouts out the chief's speech to the people, starts these wealth songs (sīama'nen). After the feast the young couple go to the groom's village to live. When they leave the house to go toward the canoe the bride's people either pave the way with skins or blankets which then belong to her, or else some male relatives carry her to the water's edge. A newly married couple is called tcał!qwi'nokwī. Being newly married is tcatwatayu's (tayu's, marriage; tca, new; twa, to get).

After six months or a year the bride's family visits the groom's relatives, bringing food and gifts. They are expected to bring at least as much as the groom's people brought to the wedding. Generally they try to bring a little more. This return feast is called k!ōsa'entod.

Sometimes the suitor is not tested as in the account above. When a girl's family decide that a certain match would be desirable they let it be talked about until it reaches the family of the man in question. If the latter consider it a suitable alliance they will at once come to the girl's village and propose. In such a case the marriage feast i[illegible]ce. A proposal is called kw!ī'kło.

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Although this formal proposal is the normal procedure, marriages were entered upon in other ways. Young people might elope if their parents had any objections to their marriage. In such a case, once the marriage was consummated the parents would make no effort to separate them. A girl who married in this way was not highly respected. If a girl elopes with a slave, her parents will have to accept him and do everything possible to cover the stigma. If a young man of high rank married a slave girl his parents might try to raise her position by calling the people together and telling them that they were going to give things away to help their daughter-in-law. In spite of this the people would think of her and her children as slaves and in any dispute they would be called "slaves" at once even if they had gotten wealthy.

An interesting case of elopement is the following. One man forbade his boy to marry a certain girl because they feared she had slave blood in her. The young people eloped, walking from Dungeness to Port Discovery. They went to the boy's uncle who said that his father had been wrong and gave a marriage feast for the young couple. The uncle kept them until the boy's father came to make his peace and take them home.

It sometimes happens that a girl is promised as pay to a shaman. In the last instance remembered, a very young girl was promised to an old shaman. The girl refused to go to him. As the patient died they did not try to force her to go nor make any substitution for her.

It is highly desirable that a girl marry from the house of her parents. From puberty until marriage girls are carefully chaperoned by their mothers and female relatives of the parents' generation. My informant gave two modern instances where girls did not live up to this old tradition. One girl had had so many love affairs that no Klallam man would marry her. Consequently she married a Mexican of poor social standing. The other girl could not live peaceably with her step-mother so she left her tribe and came to the Klallam. After two unsuccessful suits initiated by herself, she married. My informant added, in relating these cases, the Klallam saying, "Never marry a traveling woman, for any woman who leaves her own village to marry has some reason for doing so."

Patrilocal residence is the general rule. A couple frequently visits the village of the wife's parents, especially when the visits can be arranged as part of fishing or root digging expeditions. Sometimes a newly married couple stays with the bride's family for a short time. For example, a Port Discovery man went to Hoko River to marry. The couple lived at Hoko River for a year before returning to Port Discovery. The mother of this bride presents one of the few cases of matrilocal residence which I have recorded. She was a Hoko River Klallam who married a Skokomish man. Their residence after marriage was Hoko River. I have several instances where the young couple stay at the bride's village from a week to a month.

Theoretically a man may have as many wives as he can support; but only the wealthy can avail themselves of this privilege.[141] Of the concrete instances

[141] In 1881 five men had two wives each (Eells, (e), 36).

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that I have three are of village chiefs. The chief at Port Angeles in the middle of the last century is said to have had twelve wives. The chief at Washington Harbor and one of Dungeness each had two. Another man is known to have had two wives. These figures are very conservative in contrast to the account of the Beecher Bay man who occupied a large house with fifty wives. An Elwah man is alleged to have had eighty wives. These statements however bear out the following tale. One man at Elwah was refused when he proposed to a woman. He felt very badly about it and went up a mountain to sleep. He dreamt that he saw a rope hanging down and he was told to pull it down. He saw lots of women hanging on it. As he pulled the rope the women came down. These were to be his wives. His dream came true for he had many wives. He married some women from British Columbia and they were so pleased with him that they would travel home and ask their women relatives to become co-wives. It was said that this man's house contained a forest of saplings on which the infants' cradles were hung.

It is expected that a widow will marry her deceased husband's brother or if there is none, one of his male cousins or a nephew or uncle. If the deceased husband's brother has a wife he does not care for, he might take this opportunity to send her away and marry his brother's widow. If a man is married and can afford it he takes his brother's widow in addition. A widow can marry her husband's brother about six months after her first husband's death. However, if she marries outside her former husband's family, she is expected to wait two years. Until her remarriage a widow frequently stays with her parents-in-law for they always want to care for the children. If a woman has been a satisfactory wife and the alliance with her family is desirable her parents-in-law are very anxious to keep her in their family. The same attitude is shown toward a good son-in-law. If a wife dies, her people will offer the widower one of his wife's sisters, a female cousin, a niece or an aunt.

When the first wife of my informant's father died he decided to marry her niece who was then only a small child. When the child was about ten he took her to his house where she lived under the care of his mother and her co-wives until she reached maturity. Then he married her. When old Johnson married his first wife her younger sister was still too young for marriage. When she reached maturity she was also married to him.

Such marriages seem to be the rule, for innumerable instances were recorded, while remarriage outside the family was rather unusual. Likewise dual wives are more often sisters than otherwise.

If a wife is mean her parents-in-law tell her to go home. They keep all the children unless there is a small baby which she will take with her. If her parents are dead she goes to some one with whom she can get along. If a man is mean his wife leaves him, not taking any of the children. If a woman leaves a man who is notoriously hard to deal with she has no difficulty in marrying again. When a woman leaves her husband her people offer to return the bride price but a man generally will not accept it.

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When it becomes known that a couple have separated a person who has the power to wish will begin wishing that the difficulty may be settled. This is the same kind of wishing for which gamblers pay. The person who is wishing mentions the name of the party considered at fault and says, "May your mind become right again," and mentions every part of his body in succession. Such a person is paid for his or her services.

Sometimes when a woman sees her husband getting old she will leave him for a younger man. Above there was cited an instance of a man waiting until his former wife's niece became mature so that he could marry her. Of course there was quite a discrepancy in the ages of this couple, a feature which did not matter to the Klallam when arranging a marriage. The young woman was teased by other women of her age about the old man she had married. Ashamed of him, she deserted him and married a young half-breed. A Port Gamble Klallam woman drove out her husband who was much older than she. He went to live with his daughter by a former marriage while she remained in his house at Port Gamble. Another grievance she had against the old man was that he saved his money for potlatches instead of giving her enough to raise her children.

At remarriage there is not the elaborate feast given at first marriages and the gifts exchanged between the families are not so large.

If a husband finds his wife with another man he kills the man and frequently the woman also. If he loves his wife very much he sometimes takes her back, but in such a case he would always move away from the village out of shame. When he does not kill his wife and does not want to take her back he leaves her and goes on to another place by himself. She might then return to her parents and when he was sure that she had left the village he might return. The relatives of a man who is killed when taken in adultery make no effort to seek revenge, for they know that the murderer acted in consonance with public opinion.

Jealousy is not unknown to the Klallam. Lame Jack's sister was grieving because her husband had deserted her for another woman. One night when all were asleep she rose, dressed herself in her best clothes, painted well and sprinkled duck's down in her hair. She sewed all her gold pieces in her skirts. Then she climbed a ladder to the ridge pole and hanged herself from it. A man went out during the night and walked against her leg. He started a fire and found her hanging dead. Everyone knew why she committed suicide but some thought it wrong of her. They blamed her husband and Lame Jack, her brother, threatened to kill him. The man, however, offered a sufficient number of blankets to soothe their feelings. In the old days the woman's brothers would surely have killed her husband.

BURIAL AND MOURNING CUSTOMS

A dying person is never taken out of the house to die, but as soon as his relatives are sure that he is dead he is wrapped in a new blanket and prepared for burial. If he dies during the night he is laid outside the house until

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morning, awaiting burial. A person who had the reputation of being "mean" or a shaman who has the power of killing is buried immediately out of fear.

Every village has a cemetery, preferably out on a sandspit, but it might be in the woods. On the sandspit a scaffold is erected about two or three feet high and the body is laid on it, sometimes covered by a small shed. The shed is just large enough to cover one body, for two corpses are never buried together unless it be a mother and infant who died at the same time. Posts two or three feet high are erected to hold a canoe containing a body. Again the body may be laid on the sand and covered by a canoe or a shed. In a cemetery located in the woods they frequently bury in the ground, or, if a scaffold is built, a tree may be used as part of the support. Sometimes a body is set in the fork of a tree. When a canoe is used the body is not covered with another canoe.

In the neighborhood of Port Discovery the members of Vancouver's expedition found an unusual number of human bones scattered about, leading them to believe that this was the cemetery for the whole surrounding country. He describes the burials as follows: "Canoes were suspended between two or more trees about twelve feet from the ground, in which were the skeletons of two or three persons; others of a larger size were hauled up into the outskirts of the woods, which contained from four to seven skeletons covered over with a broad plank. In some of these broken bows and arrows were found which gave rise to a conjecture, that these might have been warriors, who after being mortally wounded had, whilst their strength remained, hauled up their canoes for the purpose of expiring quietly in them. But on a further examination this became improbable, as it would hardly have been possible to preserve the regularity of position in the agonies of death, or to have defended their sepulchres with the broad plank with which each was covered."[142]

In all these forms of burial the body is prepared in the same way. It is wrapped with mats and blankets which are securely tied with cedar rope. Wrapped with the body are the personal belongings of the dead person. More recently the body has been kept in the straight position for burial but long ago the body was flexed with the knees drawn up under the chin, a position which Eells claims was always used by the Klallam.[143] Some early burials which have been washed out at the Dungeness spit were in this position.

Cremation is unknown. Gibbs quotes Vancouver's description of the charred bones found at Port Discovery, explaining that perhaps during the epidemic which had raged just before Vancouver's visit, a house with its dead inhabitants was burnt, not an infrequent occurrence.[144]

A shaman is buried in the same way as any other person. Suicides are also given regular burial.

If a person dies while away from home, as for instance during the fishing season along Hood Canal, the body is buried there in a shallow grave.

[142] Vancouver, I, 254, 255.
[143] Eells, (a), 670.
[144] Gibbs, (a), 203.

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After a year or two it is dug out and taken home for reburial. When a body is dug out in such an instance it is done by a shaman. If the clothing he wears while doing it is good it is washed at once, if it is old it is thrown away. If no shaman is available a strong healthy man is asked to do it. A person who has touched a dead body does not have to fast or go into isolation in order to purify himself. For ordinary burial also, a shaman is asked to dig the grave and put the body in it.

When a corpse is taken out of the house for burial it is taken through a hole cut in the wall, never through the door. Of late years it is taken through the window. Only the men necessary for carrying the body go to the grave with it. Occasionally a woman will accompany the body of her child. The men who carry the body are generally old men who have powerful guardian spirits. They are not paid for their services but are given some of the dead man's possessions such as his guns, canoes and so forth which they may either leave on the grave or keep for themselves.

As soon as the news of a death in the village spreads all the women, especially the older ones, flock to the house to wail. They go in to look at the corpse and then gather on the beach before the house to wail. This is carried on for five or six days according to the wealth and social prestige of the dead person. In wailing, the women would say, "Oh, why did this good man die? Why was it not a mean, good-for-nothing person?" When the wailing period is over, the women wash their faces in salt water and washing out their mouths, tell the sorrow to leave them. Then they paint their faces red again. The family of the dead person entertains them for another two or three days and then they are paid for their services. If it is a woman that has just died they are given the calico she left, otherwise they are paid in money. These wailers need not be relatives, although there are always relatives among them. Occasionally an old man joins the women in wailing but such expression of emotion is not considered manly.

The day after the burial, the person's own belongings are burned. No food is burned with them nor is food ever put on the grave. Gibbs quotes from Vancouver the following: "As Port Discovery there were several baskets suspended in a tree, containing the skeletons of small children, with small square boxes apparently containing food." Gibbs wonders what Vancouver saw.[145] Curtis mentions the burial of infants in watertight baskets. He also states that after the burial shamans with certain powers go to the grave and burn food so that its spirit may pass to the land of the dead for the use of the person recently deceased. For these services the shaman retains a part of the food given him.[146]

Soon after the burial a potlatch is given if the family can afford it. At this time a piece of clothing or other personal possession of the dead person is shown to the assembled guests and then burned. All who see this receive

[145] Gibbs, (a), 202.
[146] Curtis, IX, 88.

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band does not seem to depend on whether the delivery takes place in the dwelling house or not. While in most cases the separation is over as soon as the mother returns to the house, the Hupa, who have exceptionally long periods of taboo, also separate a nursing woman from her husband for a year.[159]

The treatment of the mother during delivery is fairly uniform. Delivery often takes place while the woman is in a squatting position, sometimes over a shallow pit (Tahltan). The Hupa woman is given an elkskin strap to pull on; the Blackfoot woman holds on to the pole of her little tipi.[159a]

The disposal of the afterbirth and the treatment of the umbilical cord is subject to many taboos. The Tahltan, like the Klallam, sew the piece of the cord that falls off into a bag which the child wears until puberty when the mother hides it in the rocks. The Ten'a tie a piece of the cord to the child's wrist for two or three years. The Shuswap, like the Thompson,[160] tie the cord to the cradle or let the child wear it suspended from the neck.

It cannot be determined whether the binding of the woman's abdomen after delivery is customary, for there is no data available. The Klallam informant contradicted herself on this point, indicating perhaps, that it was not an important feature there. No definite negative evidence is at hand, but the only tribe using such a binder within the radius of this comparative work is the Blackfoot.[161] The practice of steaming the breasts before nursing as described for the Klallam is found among the Snuqualmi, Snohomish and Nisqually,[162] as is the use of the scratcher after birth.

The length of the period of confinement varies from a few days to several months. This period is marked not only by the isolation of the mother but also by food taboos, the use of the scratcher, and regulations as to bathing. The Tahltan woman rests only two or three days, during which she takes only liquid food. The Chinook woman observes taboos for ten days after the birth of a girl and five days after a boy. The Hupa woman stays in the menstrual lodge for ten days but may not eat fresh meat or fish for forty days when a boy is born, fifty days for a girl, and sixty days for a miscarriage. Both parents use no meat or fish for five days among the Northeastern Maidu.[163] The Eskimo of Kotzebue Sound restrict the new mother to a dark ocrner of the house for twenty days, and allow her no fresh food. During this period she must bathe every five days.

The care of the infant follows the same routine carried out with more or less ceremony. Everywhere the child is washed immediately, the coast people using a wooden dish like the eating troughs. The Kwakiutl midwife puts her left foot into this dish and rests the child on the instep holding it with her left hand. After the bath the child is massaged daily so that his body may be molded according to the standards of beauty of his people.

[159] Goddard, 52.
[159a] Emmons, 100; Goddard, 51; Wissler, (b), 28.
[160] Emmons, 101; Reed and Parsons, 337; Teit, (b), 586, (a), 305.
[161] Wissler, (b), 28.
[162] Haeberlin-Gunther, 45.
[163] Emmons, 101; Boas, (f), 243; Goddard, 51; Dixon, 229.

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The rubbing is done with the oil of silver perch by the Kwakiutl. The Tillamook rub the face down, pull the nose and massage the limbs after every bath. The Snuqualmi elongate the nose and ears. The Lkuñgin rub the child with dogfish oil and after every bath massage his cheeks and legs. The Nootka likewise manipulate the cheeks, abdomen, and legs of the infant as well as press the eyebrows to give them the appearance affected in their carvings.[164]

Manipulation of the infant which had much more lasting effect was deformation of the head. On the North Pacific Coast there are three distinct types of deformation called by Boas the Chinook, the Cowichan, and the Koskimo, which have the following distribution: the first, along the Columbia River, among the Chinook and Cowlitz; the second, about Puget Sound, the Lkuñgin, Cowichan and Skq!omic; the Catloltq form a transition to the third type as found on the coast of Vancouver Island and the mainland opposite to Toba Inlet with its highest development at Kwatzino Sound.[165] The methods described for the Klallam put them in the second group, which, Boas says, does not flatten but shortens the head by strong pressure on the region of the lambda and below, with the flattening of the forehead due to growth under altered conditions after the cushions have been removed. This differs from the wedge shaped head achieved by the Chinook or the sugar loaf type of the Koskimo group who obtain it by winding the head four times around with cedar bark or kelp.[166] Gibbs observes that head flattening was done to the greatest extent on the Columbia River and Puget Sound. He did not see the peoples of British Columbia, but according to other reports it was not carried out so rigorously there. He states that on the outskirts of the area of head deformation the practice is limited to women.[167] The Makah and their close relatives, the Nootka, do not practise it generally. Swan notes that as the Makah intermarry with tribes both to the north and south, it is found that head deformation is practically limited to those people who are related to Quinault, Chehalis, or Klallam.[168] Among the Nitinat, who have married into tribes from the southern shore of the Strait of Juan de Fuca, the children have their heads deformed but it is not a sign of freedom or high social rank as it commonly is on Puget Sound and along the Columbia River.[169]

The head is usually deformed by pressure exerted while the child is in the cradle board. A pad of cedar bark (Chinook and Cowlitz) filled with sand (Nootka) or a maplewood mould to fit the forehead (Nootka)[170] is used, being held in place by straps attached to the cradle. The length of time this head pressure is used varies. The Puget Sound tribes who have greatly deformed heads leave it in position about one year, while the Tillamook use it until the child walks.[171] The periods are all longer than that given for the Klallam.

[164] Boas, (d), 652, 655, (e), 5; Haeberlin-Gunther, 45; Boas, (a), 572, 591.
[165] Boas, (a), 647.
[166] Boas, (d), 655.
[167] Gibbs, (a), 212.
[168] Swan, (a), 3.
[169] Sproat, 28, 29.
[170] Kane, 180; Sproat, 30.
[171] Gibbs, (a), 212; Boas, (e), 5.

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The cradle is usually a trough or shallow dugout, in the southern part of the Northern Coast area often being described as a canoe, as among the Tillamook. The form of cradle among the Klallam is distinctly a transitional type between the board as found among the Upper Thompson and the trough like cradle. A common feature in this area is the use of a temporary mat cradle, before the child is put on the board. This cradle has the same shape as the wooden one. People who are too poor to have a wooden one continue to use this. A Siletz child uses a temporary cradle until the morning of the fifth day when it is transferred to the other. The Lkuñgn use the mat cradle for about one month.[172]

An infant is at once made the object of a certain amount of ceremony, that he may become recognized as a member of his social unit. Such ceremony is not on record for the Klallam or Puget Sound tribes, but is current further to the north and crops out again in Oregon. There the Tillamook call all their relatives so that the child may see his friends and hear the proper kinship terms used, that he may not die. A shaman is paid to dance and carry the child to his cradle that he may become a good canoe man. Later when the infant's ears are pierced the older children are sent away so that the ears will not swell and cause death.[173] After the birth of a child the Coos invite their friends to a feast at which all the leading men receive gifts from the child's parents. At the end of five days or more another feast is given for naming the child.[174]

The Klallam share with the other tribes of the North Pacific Coast the peculiar custom of using many modes of burial. It is impossible to determine from archaeological evidence whether there is any chronological sequence, for tree and canoe burials decay quickly. Gibbs in speaking of the tribes of Washington made the statement that the fishing tribes lay the dead in canoes whereas the inland tribes bury the corpse.[175] Although this statement has some truth in it, there are a large number of exceptions. Coast tribes generally use canoes but they also bury in the ground while the inland tribes place the wrapped body in a tree and use grave houses as well. The types of burial used on the North Pacific Coast may be divided into two groups: disposition of the corpse above the ground and inhumation, each with a series of variations. Burial above the ground may be done in canoes, either placed on low scaffolds, as with the Klallam, Tillamook, Quinault, in trees or among the rocks above the tide as with the Chinook, Kathlamet, Snohomish, Snuqualmi.[176] Some people cover the body with an inverted canoe, as the Shoalwater Bay tribes and Tillamook,[177] a practice not followed by the Klallam.

[172] *Ibid.* The distribution of these forms is to be discussed in Spier, *Havasupai Ethnography.* Dorsey, 58; Boas, (a), 573.

[173] Boas, (e), 5, 6.

[174] St. Clair and Frachtenberg, 26.

[175] Gibbs, (a), 202.

[176] Boas, (e), 8; Willoughby, 277; Kane, 202; Franchère, 257; Strong, 14; Haeberlin-Gunther, 48.

[177] Gibbs, (a), 203.

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In addition to the canoe as a receptacle for the corpse many tribes built small sheds with either gable roofs, or roofs with one pitch. Elsewhere these may contain more than one body, but the Klallam used individual grave sheds. The Chinook at the Cascades of the Columbia River wrap the bodies and place them side by side in a grave house, also the Wishram.[178] The grave house is used also further north where cremation is practised, as with the Tahltan and Tlingit who put the charred bones in a box which is deposited in it, or set on top of a memorial column. The Kadiak also put the burnt remains in a grave house or in a box set on a low scaffold.[179] The body is either wrapped or placed in a coffin before being put in a grave house. Likewise coffins are placed in trees as among the Khotana and the Nootka where the degree of elevation is indicative of the social rank of the individual. The coffins of the chiefs are hoisted to a great height while the bodies of old women, men and boys of no rank are not even given a coffin but the body is wrapped in old blankets and laid on the ground, covered with stones and sticks.[180] Where burial is practised in this region the body is either wrapped in blankets and mats or laid in a coffin. The Klikitat, however, merely dress the body and lay it in the grave without a coffin. In the Willamette Valley instead of making a coffin, the grave is lined with slabs of wood. The Shoalwater Bay tribes bury in wooden chests as well as in canoes. The northern Californians bury the dead, as the Karok and Yurok, while through the Sacramento Valley both burial and cremation are practised.[181]

Just as the Klallam prefer sandspits for burial places so the Nootka seek small islands. Two famous cemeteries of the Chinook were Mt. Coffin three miles below the mouth of the Cowlitz River and Coffin Rock above. The Haida took the body in a canoe to a point of land where it was buried. The body of a shaman, which the Tlingit never cremate contrary to the usual practise, was left on a land point to dessicate. On the other hand grave houses are frequently built close to the dwellings as with the Karok.[182]

The Klallam do not orient the body in burial but many of their neighbors do, as the Snohomish and Snuqualmi. The Kathlamet point the prow of the burial canoe westward. On the upper Columbia River the head of the dead person is placed to the west because the land of the dead is in that direction.[183] The body is always wrapped, some people tying it in a sitting position as the Klallam formerly did. The Okanagon who used grave burial did this, as did the Eskimo of Kotzebue Sound who cover the body with stones and driftwood. This position is not so likely to be used in a canoe burial.[184]

The Klallam are in a region where cremation is not practised. To the

[178] *Burial Customs in Oregon*, 330; Wishram data from Leslie Spier.
[179] Emmons, 107; Swanton, (a), 429-431; Jackson, 112.
[180] Schwatka, 54; Sproat, 258, 259.
[181] Gibbs, (c), 405; *Burial Customs in Oregon*, 331; Swan, (b), 73; Powers, 33, 58; *The Shasta and their Neighbors*, Ms.
[182] Sproat, 260; Gibbs, (a), 200; Swanton, (b), 53; (a), 466; Jackson, 112.
[183] Haeberlin-Gunther, 48; Strong, 14; Gibbs, (a), 201.
[184] Ross, 321; Petroff, 127.

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south it is first encountered among the Klamath while northward the Northern Kwakiutl are the first coastal people to use it.[185]

Burial usually follows immediately upon death except in cases where a person of high rank is kept for a week or more for ceremonies as with the Haida. Many tribes share the Klallam custom of taking the corpse through a hole in the wall, while in other instances the house is immediately destroyed or vacated. The Okanagon tear the house down. The Makah sometimes use the planks of the dwelling house for the grave shed. The Quinault formerly tore down the house. The Nootka either burn the house or move the materials and build elsewhere.[186]

Wailing is carried on by paid mourners among the Lower Chinook or by the friends and relatives as with the Klallam who nevertheless give them presents for their services. After the funeral wailing is frequently restricted to the family as in the case of the Pit River widow who goes out from the village every morning and evening for a few months to wail.[187] Close relatives show further signs of mourning by cutting their hair and blackening their faces. The Klallam share this with the Tahltan, Lower Chinook and Okanagon.[188] A Lillooet widow cuts her hair across the back only, while a Karok widow cuts it close to the head.[189] Scarification and the severing of joints is not as frequent in this region as on the Plains although isolated instances exist. The Okanagon scarify the body, perhaps due to eastern influence. The Tsimshian mourners, if there has been a series of deaths in the same family cut off the first joint of the fourth finger to prevent further misfortune.[190]

In disposing of the property of the deceased several customs are in use throughout this region; some personal property is buried with the corpse, other articles are put near the grave, while remaining ones are given away or burned. Generally throughout the Puget Sound region as with the Klallam, the articles that are placed on the grave are rendered useless. The same is done by the Quinault, Chinook, Tillamook and Upper Chinook. Large canoes, house planks, fine fishing and hunting gear, and slaves, the Nootka pass on to the eldest son. Even where cremation is not practised a dead man's possessions are sometimes burned as with the Klallam and Yana.[191]

Far more important than the disposition of the belongings of the deceased is the potlatch that follows the funeral. This event is so significant socially that if a Snohomish or Snuqualmi family is too poor to give the feast when the death occurs they will bury the corpse temporarily and rebury it when they have accumulated enough wealth to give the elaborate potlatch which is expected. Farther north as with the Haida where the opposite clan conducts

[185] Information from Leslie Spier. Cremation on the North Pacific Coast has been discussed by W. C. MacLeod in the *American Anthropologist*, n. s., 27, 1925, 122-148.

[186] Ross, 321; Wickersham, 205; Willoughby, 277; Sproat, 260.

[187] Ross, 97; *The Shasta and their Neighbors*, Ms.

[188] Emmons, 106; Franchère, 257; Ross, 322.

[189] Teit, (c), 221; Powers, 33.

[190] Ross, 322; Boas, (h), 241.

[191] Gibbs, (a), 220; Willoughby, 277; Kane, 202; Boas, (e), 8; Gibbs, (a), 201; Sproat, 259; Sapir, 194.

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the funeral or with the Tahltan where the opposite family officiates, a feast is given for them. Once the potlatch after burial is given the Klallam no longer commemorate the death but other tribes about Puget Sound make a regular practice of reburial, especially those of a social position who can afford to add to their prestige in this manner. Swan also observed an instance of reburial at Shoalwater Bay.[192] There is no definite time set for this ceremony except that it rarely occurs less than a year after death. The feast is conducted by the family of the deceased together with such relatives as would normally join forces for any potlatch. In this, the anniversary differs from the mourning rites common in California and the Southwest.[193] At the northern end of the area the Tahltan and the Eskimo of Kotzebue Sound have mourning anniversaries.[194]

Purification for those who have come in contact with a dead body is insisted on with varying degrees of stringency. The Klallam as the Snohomish and Snuqualmi prefer to have a shaman prepare the corpse for burial but subject neither him nor any other person who touches the body to ceremonial cleansing. The same is true of reburial. The Snohomish and Snuqualmi demand that anyone who has come in contact with a corpse bathe and change his clothing, while widows and parents of the deceased must bathe daily for several weeks and rub the body with twigs. They must also use a head scratcher, a custom not current among the Klallam, but shared by the Klamath and Wishram.[195]

The last phase of mourning customs to be discussed is the taboo against mentioning the name of the dead. It is considered a serious breach of etiquette with the Klallam, a feeling that is shared by the majority of Puget Sound tribes and by the Klikitat, Chinook, Okanagon, Pit River, but with the Karok the feeling is much deeper, as is expressed in their regulation that a transgression of this taboo must be atoned for with blood money as in a case of murder.[196]

[192] Swanton, (b), 54; Emmons, 107; Haeberlin-Gunther, 51; Swan, (a), 73.

[193] For a discussion of the mourning anniversary and its relation to cremation see Spier, *Havasupai Ethnography*.

[194] Emmons, 107; Petroff, 127.

[195] Haeberlin-Gunther, 49, 50; Klamath and Wishram information from Leslie Spier.

[196] Gibbs, (c), 405; Kane, 205; Ross, 322; *The Shasta and their Neighbors*, Ms.; Powers, 33.

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SOCIAL LIFE

RELATIONSHIP

The kinship terms recorded below were obtained from a man and woman of Jamestown, one from the old Washington Harbor village and the other from Port Discovery Bay. A complete set of terms was also obtained from a Klallam woman living at Esquimalt. Her father was one of the group which migrated from Port Angeles to Beecher Bay.

Term	*Translation*
tsapīakwīa'k^{u}	the most remote ancestor, meaning the furthest underneath
akwīa'k^{u}	great great grandparent
tca'mak^{u}	great grandparent
sī'a	grandparent
tsåt	father
tan	mother
tsa'tcts	parent's older sibling
klī'tłk	parent's younger sibling
swīya'eɛñ	parent's sibling's spouse
nu'ñnana	child
nu'ñnuñ'nuna	children
swīka'tct	son
slanatca'tc	daughter
yū'tł	oldest child
tcetī'tsin	intermediate child
ō'ō''tc	youngest child
stī'qwin	older sibling's child
tɛqwinoi'ł	younger sibling's child
skē'satcaił	sibling's child after death of sibling
ī'ngets	grandchild, sibling's grandchild
suxstō'nuq	older sibling
satcui'ł	younger sibling
sō'q !wa	any male sibling or cousin, parallel or cross
ai''īs	any female sibling or cousin, parallel or cross
sena'txwin	older brother's wife or husband's older brother
senata'xwin	younger brother's wife or husband's younger brother
s'tcūtai'ł	sister's husband or child's spouse
sx^{u}ai'ēs	husband's sister

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smai'etsin	spouse's sibling after spouse's death
sintcai'ɛnuk	husband's sibling's spouse
swē'tka	husband
sla'ni	wife
sīaē'ł	parent-in-law
sk!ō"wīyus	parent-in-law of one's child
k!łwēhō"uñ	parents-in-law of one's child after child's death, meaning crying together
s^{u}s^{u}ō'kł	step parent
suna"añ	step child
sinɛtceu'ł	half sister
swaitkasinɛtcīa'ł	half brother
sinetcē'wuxł	half brother or sister
klēnɛtcaē'añslani	former wife, if dead
klēnɛtcaē'añswētka	former husband, if dead
q^{u}lasaē'tcaē'añslani	former wife, if divorced
q^{u}lasaē'tcaēañswētka	former husband, if divorced
tca'tca	a relative
stcai'atca	relatives collectively
sī'y^{u}	co-wives to each other

The vocative and possessive of these kinship terms is formed by prefixing nɛ, my. The terms were generally dictated with this prefix, my informant explaining that in speaking of one's own relatives the prefix was always used but the word without the prefix was employed when speaking of the relatives of another.

Since there is no aversion among the Klallam to using personal names, kinship terms are not employed very frequently. In speaking about one's relatives the name of the person is always used and if it is necessary to avoid confusion, the kinship term is added as an explanation. In indirect address the term tca'tca, relative, is constantly used to the entire neglect of any specific kinship term. This may account for the fact that it was so difficult for my informants to give exact terms for the more remote relatives in either Klallam or English. Gibbs states that in Chinook jargon "naika tilicum," meaning "my relation" is used more than any other expression denoting kin among the Sound tribes.[197]

The specific terms for the older and younger of two relatives of the same degree, as the older and younger brother, are used only when it is necessary to make clear to which reference is made. In every case the term for the younger is considered a slighting word, a "small" word, as my informant put it. For example a younger sibling's child who should be called tɛqwinoi'ł is called stī'-qwin to flatter him especially after he is grown up. The same is true when

[197] Gibbs, (a), 198.

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tsa'tcts is used for parent's younger sibling instead of klī'tlk and sena'txwin for younger brother's wife instead of the proper term senata'xwin.

In the data now at hand there is only one irregularity in the use of a kinship term. A child called his father's sister, who should be klī'tlk, sī'a, grandmother, because all his playmates of his age are her grandchildren and call her that.

Kinship is actually recognized as far back as awīa'k^{a} or the great great grandfather's generation. The older and younger branches of the family are counted from the most remote ancestor that can be recalled. For instance, Dan and Mary Wood were related before their marriage, being the children of mothers who were the daughters of parallel cousins. They called each other sō'q!wa. Fred Hall married Collier's sister and after her death married Annie George whose grandparents were cousins of Collier's mother's grandparents (Collier did not know the relationship exactly). When Fred married Annie he considered her a cousin of his former wife and thereby was obeying the Klallam tradition of marrying in the same family after the first spouse's death.

An uncle (tsa'tcts or klītlk) gives advice to his nephew (stī'qwin or tɛqwinoi'ł) just as a father would to his son. He is always interested in his nephew's welfare. If the parents should be too poor to have their son join the secret society his uncle might help him. A nephew gives a larger share of fish or game to his uncle than he would give to any other older person. A widow's child sometimes stays with her former husband's brother should she remarry outside that family, but generally the new husband would want his stepchildren to come and live with him. While men are usually generous and kind toward their stepchildren, women are notoriously cruel and unkind. My informant states that they usually hate stepchildren. This attitude frequently occurs in folktales.

There is no mother-in-law taboo among the Klallam. In speaking to her a man might say, "Natu'n nɛsu'xsqwa," meaning "come my master," thus showing respect but he would address in a similar way anyone else for whom he had respect.

SOCIAL EVALUATION

Rank. The Klallam are divided into two groups, an upper and a lower class. The former consists of the chief, his immediate family and relatives. This group, rather vaguely defined, is called sīa'ma'au"uñin, derived from the word sīa'm, meaning rich. The chief himself is called ssīa'm; the higher the esteem the longer drawn out is the initial sound. Membership in this group depends partly on birth, but principally on wealth. A person of low rank, if he has no slave blood, can through achievement and the acquisition of wealth through potlatching work into the upper group. Likewise a person in the upper class may, through ill fortune, especially if he has no immediate family to call on for aid, fall into the lower group. The lower class consists of freed slaves, their children, and of people who never achieved social distinction by obtain-

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ing wealth. I have only one concrete instance as to the relative size of the two groups. At Washington Harbor the lower class village outnumbered the upper class about two to one.

It does not seem that there ever was a very rigid distinction between these two groups. This is especially interesting because of the rigidity of caste found among the more northern tribes on the Pacific Coast. The last barriers between the groups were broken down about three generations ago when the upper class no longer stood out against marriage with their inferiors. It cannot be determined what particular events led to this social change. It is probable that in some localities the upper class may have been reduced in numbers through war and the few remaining could not maintain their prestige.

In the old days village or tribal exogamy was demanded of the upper class while the lower class married among themselves.

The people of the lower class live just like their superiors only on a much more frugal scale. Famine always strikes them first. They fish and gather food, but there are no hunters among them. They are not allowed to use the duck nets on the sandspit before the village, but they may spear ducks. They always live in a distinct group away from the upper class village, frequently acting as a buffer in case of attack. They have to tolerate whatever treatment they receive from the upper class. Annoyances of every sort, including the molesting of women by the upper class men, evidently are frequent occurrences.

Chieftaincy. The principal prerequisite for the position of chief is wealth, the ability to give potlatches. It is the man who can give potlatches who will be known to other villages and other tribes for his liberality. This fame makes the people of his own village recognize him as their leader, their chief, asta'm. A chief is not necessarily a warrior and does not have to go on war expeditions unless he is personally interested.

Normally the eldest son succeeds his father to the chieftaincy. If the chief's son is still a child he is appointed chief, but one of his nearest relatives helps him decide matters of state. He is present at every meeting and is told what is being done so that he will learn how to act when he becomes of age. Sometimes the chief before his death designates one of his younger brothers as chief in place of his son. It is not certain whether in such a situation the chieftaincy reverts to the older branch of the house or if the last chief's oldest son then assumes the position. If the chief has no living son, but a grandson, by either a son or a daughter, he succeeds his grandfather. A woman can never become chief, neither can the chief's son-in-law succeed to the position. In this feature the Klallam custom is in direct contrast to the Kwakiutl situation.

When the whites arrived in the Klallam country to settle, Lord Jim was chief of the tribe. He was a native of Dungeness and chief of that village. Because he talked well, gave good advice and was very wealthy he was recognized as chief of all the Klallam. His father and grandfather had been chiefs of Dungeness before him. The chieftaincy of the tribe is not localized in any

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particular village, but wherever a village chief makes himself conspicuous by his lavish feasts and his wisdom he becomes recognized as the leader of the tribe. Such leadership is not hereditary but is a personal achievement.

When Lord Jim died the village as well as the tribe as a whole was without a chief. Jim had a son, James Balch, then a young man. In those days the Klallam used to go to Skokomish for government rations. During one of their gatherings there at which the Skokomish, Chehalis and Tsxaiwamish from the vicinity of Shelton were also present, Stītai'xten (Sam Johnson) from Dungeness let it be known that he would like to be recognized as chief of the Klallam. He was the wealthiest man in the village and had many potlatches to his credit. The agent asked if Stītai'xten was in direct line for the chieftaincy. The people answered that he should not have it, because James Balch, the old chief's son, was with them and that he should be appointed. The agent then told them that they should line up with the one whom they wanted as chief. All the men from Dungeness, six in number, joined Stītai'xten. Balch was still a very young man and the people hesitated to choose him. Mrs. Solomon's mother rose and mentioned the places from which all the assembled people had come, saying, "What is the matter with you, people of Skokomish and you, Tsxaiwamish and Chehalis and everybody else, this boy is Telesmī'ten's grandson; he is your own child." So all the peoples mentioned stood up with James Balch. The line doubled many times behind him, so Balch was elected.

This account gives an election controlled by an agent but still there is some old time flavor in it. An interesting feature is the voting of these other tribes at the election of a Klallam chief. It was explained that the Balch family was related to the tribes, therefore their tribesmen had the right to vote. If this procedure was a customary one it shows more clearly than ever the lack of political separatism among these people.

The last chief at Washington Harbor was Xałkē'nim who died approximately forty years ago. The chief before him was not related to him. It has been impossible so far to find out the reason for a change of line in the chieftaincy there.

The chief gives advice but has no power beyond the backing of public opinion to enforce it. If two families quarrel the chief tries to settle the dispute. If a married couple are having difficulties one of their relatives may appeal to the chief to talk to them. He would warn them and even threaten punishment, which might be carried out by the relatives of the wronged party. If a man were beating his wife the chief would order him to pay a certain sum to his father-in-law or brother-in-law as recompense. If the man did not comply, the person who was to receive the money might punish him with the approval of the chief.

The chief also functions when there is a demand for blood money made by members of another village or tribe. When a party comes to demand reparation for an injury, the matter is generally referred to the chief who takes

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counsel with the immediate relatives of the person who committed the wrong. His opinion is valued but not always followed. If the visiting party demands too high a price the chief might help by collecting funds from his relatives in order to avoid war. If the demands for some reason cannot be met and the issue comes to war, the chief would call on neighboring villages for help in fighting. If, on the other hand, a party of Klallam goes out to collect blood money, the chief generally accompanies them provided the person injured is important socially. The chief will accompany the expedition only to give advice, he will not talk with the opposite group, but leave that to the messengers who go along or to his speaker.

The chief in no way controls the movements of the village for fishing, hunting or food gathering. The people do not ask his permission to commence the fishing season, for instance. The chief of a village generally owns the fish trap nearest the mouth of the river which he permits others to use when he is not fishing there. If a man makes a good catch or bags much game he will give the chief some of it. The chief invites the whole village if he has been particularly successful in hunting or fishing or if he has been presented with a large quantity of food.

The chief is never a medicine man as well, but usually like every successful man he possesses powerful guardian spirits. The chief is always a member of the secret society. When messengers come to invite the people to a potlatch they always go to the chief first and after delivering their message to him, ask him to accompany them to the other houses.

The chief and his relatives constitute the upper class in every village. To just what degrees of kin these relatives are included seems a very vague and uncertain point. One frequently hears of a chief housing poor relatives, so evidently they do not all possess wealth, one of the criteria of class distinction. The chief's family, his wives and children are considered the social leaders of the community. Guests of distinction are always entertained in the chief's house. He is also expected to give frequent feasts for his own village, in fact it is this display of wealth in entertainment that brings him his prestige.

Slavery. Slaves are principally women and children taken captive in war. Occasionally the Klallam go on slave raiding expeditions, generally attacking the tribes up the Sound. They respected the warlike ability of the Vancouver Island people too much to attempt raids there. Curtis states that the Klallam, Sooke, Songish, Sanetch, and Cowichan raided the Skagit, Snohomish and other Sound tribes, while the Cowichan often raided the Klallam.[198] Gibbs cites Tolmie's opinion that the slave traffic was from the south to the north, except for the Cowlitz who raided the Sound tribes and sold their prisoners on the Columbia River. This, Gibbs believes generally true, but it seems that the Klallam were out of this trade route and consequently either did their own capturing or bought slaves from the people about Victoria who seem to have conducted a real trade center there.[199]

[198] Curtis, IX, 75.
[199] Gibbs, (a), 188.

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Wherever I have actual records of ownership of slaves, I find that they always belong to chiefs. The largest number belonging to one person is three. This is much smaller than the numbers found among the northern tribes.

Slaves live in the houses of their masters, having special beds, although no definite part of the house is assigned to them. They are generally treated well. Whipping slaves is not common. Sometimes a slave is ransomed by his people and released.

Marriage with slaves is a breach of custom (see p. 245) but of course takes place occasionally. Slaves may however intermarry, their children being slaves. A slave is never initiated into the secret society, but if a slave has been a member of such a society in his own tribe, he is allowed to perform with the society. This happened in several instances with slaves brought from British Columbia. This is undoubtedly one way in which the rituals spread southward.

Slaves do the same work as their masters; men help with fishing, net-making and mending, and chopping wood; women dig roots, clams, pick berries, make baskets and mats. A slave woman frequently attends her master's daughter during her seclusion at puberty.

Within my informant's memory there were among the Klallam only one slave woman and her son living at Clallam Bay, and he remembered hearing about some slaves at Stɛtxlum (Dungeness). These were two women and a man. One woman Xaxaxa"ams (xaxams means slave) was very pretty with a light complexion. She belonged to Lord Jim, the chief of the Klallam, who sent her out as a prostitute among his tribesmen and after the whites came among them also. This woman came from the Canadian side. The other woman Hēniak also belonged to Lord Jim and was used for the same purpose. The man was named Quxlts, which means smelt. He was called so because he was handsome with a light complexion and the smelt is thought to be a very nice fish. He belonged to a cousin of Lord Jim.

A characteristic case is that of Mrs. White, whom I used as an informant at Sooke, who was a slave in her childhood. I could not get the tale from her, but I have it from a sufficient number of reliable people to satisfy myself that it is true and she merely considered it an embarrassing subject. Mrs. White is a Nootka woman from Exatīsit, a village just north of Nootka Sound. She was captured by the Songish and belonged to a chief named Stxai"aks. He sold her to Yō'kum, a Klallam from Port Angeles. When she was eight years old the Klallam group at Port Angeles moved to Beecher Bay, taking her along. When Yō'kum's son married he was given this slave woman by his father, and she lived with him until she married an Englishman.

The experiences of a slave are well illustrated in another narrative. Two sisters and Xaxyōli'tsa, the small daughter of the elder woman, went from Washington Harbor in a canoe, paddling to Discovery Bay to get rushes for mats. When about to come home some Haida appeared on the beach and captured them. They left the women's canoe adrift. When the people searched for them they found this drifting canoe and knew at once that the

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women had been taken captive, for that same day they had seen out at sea a large canoe such as the raiding northern tribes have.

The Haida took the women home. Soon they bartered them for blankets and money to the Yokwiltax, a tribe with "long" heads.[200] The women stayed with this tribe for many years.

The older of the slave women, Yai'kamlo, had been married on Vancouver Island and after her husband's death had returned to Washington Harbor with her child. Her former husband's brother, a rich man, was living near Victoria. He heard that his niece had been captured but was afraid to go and get her.[201]

One woman in the tribe where these Klallam were slaves was very good to them. She tried to have her husband release them, but he refused. One day she sent them out on the rocks to get China slippers. They went out in a little canoe with this woman. She took them up a bluff and told them to stay there while she went back alone. She promised to return in two days. When she came home the chief asked where the slaves were. She said that they had run away while gathering China slippers. The men took three large canoes and with fifteen men in each pursued the women. They searched the beaches while the women were hidden in the woods. They returned home, giving up the pursuit.

The woman who was kind to them stayed home two days and then cooked some food during the night. Early in the morning she went to their hiding place. The women were still there. She gave them the food and told them in which direction to walk. In the evening the slaves started. Every morning they hid in the woods again, staying there until night fell. At night they walked on the beach around many inlets. When they came to a large river they found some planks on which to cross. Still they walked every night. Then they came to a fishing camp. Some men who were out fishing at night took the women over the river in a canoe. Soon they came to a place where they were known. The girl's uncle had told everybody about his niece and her mother so that these people realized at once who the women were. They sheltered them. In the evening the man who had found them called all his people together to ask them for help in taking these women to their relative near Victoria. Many offered to help. So the women were brought to Victoria where their escorts were handsomely paid in blankets and money. The girl's uncle gave a big potlatch in their honor.

The people at Dungeness heard that the women had reached Victoria, but they could not go over to get them because the uncle was of such high social standing that it was for him to send them home. He kept them a long time, but when they finally came home their people gave a big feast for them.

That this adventure was no social stigma is shown by the fact that the young girl married a man of good standing, while the two older women became co-wives of their older sister's husband.

[200] This may be a reference to the Kwakiutl who use the sugar loaf type of head deformation.

[201] It is curious that he was only interested in his niece and not his brother's widow, although the levivate was a common practice in these tribes.

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WAR

The Klallam are regarded as very fierce warriors, respected and feared for their prowess by the Sound tribes and the people of southern Vancouver Island. Whether the Klallam themselves regard their ability at war as a very important tribal asset is not very clear. The social status of a warrior is no higher or more secure than that of any other person of the upper class. If he is a good warrior it goes without saying that he has a very profitable way of accumulating wealth. This reduces the matter again to the common scale of social evaluation. It is his wealth rather than his warlike ability that gives him prestige.

War is waged with equal ferocity against a foreign tribe and against a neighboring Klallam village. One of the principal causes for war in either instance is the refusal to pay blood money. If a Klallam kills an upper class person from another tribe, the tribesmen of the murdered man would go directly to the village of the murderer and demand payment.

When a party comes to demand blood money, the village of the guilty man asks for time to consider the matter. Such a proceeding is time consuming. Two messengers always go from one party to the other. After each of their visits a conference of the whole group takes place. Such messengers are always safe. Frequently the group of whom payment is demanded goes to the head chief for advice. If they are short of money to pay and the head chief wants to avoid trouble he may collect from his own people to help pay them. If they decide to resist, they return to their village and prepare for the attack. The party coming to ask for blood money is always prepared to fight, should no settlement be reached. In case of a struggle all the neighboring Klallam villages would come to help. If some of the visiting party are killed, the others return home.

Refusal to pay is regarded as the most dignified procedure, regardless of any question of right or wrong. If the guilty man is of any importance in his village, his fellows would urge him to refuse any demands made of him, offering to help him fight. On the other hand a village might get angry at one who made trouble in this way. They never say anything to him openly but either the men wait for a good opportunity to kill him or else they hire a shaman to kill him with his power. They would never take his property away as punishment.

Such demands for blood money might come from another village within the tribe as well as from outsiders. Coming for blood money is called nux-kama'ts; kama meaning to take something that is wanted.[202]

The two narratives well illustrate the actual procedure.

When I was about twenty-four[203] or a little less a party of Snohomish

[202] Gibbs states that in demanding compensation the injured party frequently offered either the opportunity to pay or to go into slavery among them. This is general among the Puget Sound tribes (Gibbs, (a), 188, 189).

[203] The narrator is now (1925) 57 years old.

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came to Jamestown to demand blood money. A short time before several Klallam, a woman among them, had gone to the Snohomish to ask a certain medicine man to cure Dr. John, one of the Jamestown shamans who was ill. On the way from Snohomish the woman had some trouble with the man they were bringing over. Along the way they bought some whiskey and she put poison in one flask. They stopped at Anderson's Dyke to drink the whiskey. The woman gave the Snohomish shaman the poisoned flask.

When they landed in Jamestown, the medicine man went at once to Dr. John's house. The people were all gathered there, ready to help him by beating sticks. Everyone was there for they liked to see a strange doctor at work. He prepared himself and began singing his first song. He sang about five minutes when his voice became weak. He became so weak that he almost fell down. His wife called to him in Snohomish to be strong and go on. But he sank to the floor and in a few minutes was dead.

Two weeks after this happened the Snohomish came to demand blood money of Dr. John, for he had sent for their tribesman and the visitor had died in his house. Beyond that the Snohomish could prove nothing. Dr. John refused to pay, for the Klallam were ready to fight. The Snohomish, however withdrew. It was not known until many years after that the shaman had been given the poisoned whiskey by this woman.

Another instance of trouble with the Snohomish is the following:[204]

A Snohomish died at Port Gamble. While visiting there he had had an affair with a Klallam woman who was married to a white man. Her husband found the Snohomish and beat him to death. His tribesmen thought that the Klallam had killed him and consequently came to demand a settlement. The Klallam refused to pay anything, instead they came out and shot at the Snohomish. The latter became frightened and withdrew before anyone of either party was injured.

Sometimes the formality of asking for a settlement is dispensed with. If the people of one tribe use the fish traps or duck nets of another without asking permission trouble may arise immediately. If strange young men come to a village and annoy the girls there, they might be attacked immediately by the men of the girls' village.

A man in a group of Dungeness River people who had come to Washington Harbor, attacked one of the Harbor women who was gathering rushes. Her people did not ask him to pay for the injury but at once attacked the Dungeness group, who after a very little fighting sought their canoes and fled.

Occasionally a group of men would just decide to attack a village for the excitement and in order to bring home a few heads. This sort of expedition was never very common and in the last century extremely rare. There was usually some remote cause for an attack, even if the oldest man in the village had to strain his memory to produce material for rationalizing their activity.

[204] Trouble between the Klallam and Snohomish seems to have been very frequent and especially ferocious (Gibbs, (a), 191).

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If one village wants to invite another on a war party, they consult the chief who calls a meeting. Everybody attends this meeting and is free to voice his opinion. The meeting is addressed by the speakers of visiting groups and local chiefs who tell the people the attitudes of their respective leaders. A vote is then taken. If it is not unanimous, the speakers take the count by pointing to each person and asking his opinion. If the village agrees to join the expedition, the warriors prepare to go at once.

A chief does not have to be a warrior and does not accompany every expedition that sets out from his village. Men do not have to have a special spirit power to go to war, but those with the Thunder spirit are always better warriors than the others. When they start to war they invoke the power which answers by thunder or rain. One informant insisted that warriors never started unless the thunder answered their supplication. If this is true, war expeditions must have been very rare.

The war club, lance, harpoon, and bow and arrow are the principal weapons used in war. The war club is generally made of whale or elk bone, a little over a foot long. It is often tied to the wrist with a stout leather thong so as always to be at hand. It is used in close combat and for clubbing to death an enemy who has been wounded.

The lance has a shaft of yew wood, about two fathoms long. The point (qwoik!lam), shaped like an arrowhead but larger, is attached to the shaft in the same manner that the arrow is fastened.

A two pronged harpoon is often thrown at the enemy. The points are barbed and attached to a sturdy rope. When the points have pierced the enemy he is dragged toward the attacker by means of this rope, then clubbed, and his head cut off.

The bow and arrow, which is also used for hunting and in miniature by small boys at play, is an important weapon in certain kinds of attack. The bow (swaxmotɛn), made of yew wood (łinłkatc) is about three feet long and three to four inches at its widest part. A very strong man might make himself a bow four feet long. The bow string is of elk sinew (łlē'enɛn). It is fastened firmly at one end and slipped on the other when in use. The arrow (yetct) has an ironwood shaft of about an arm's length. The shaft (called yetct just as the whole arrow) is split to receive the arrow point (tsamaiyan). This is lashed with wild cherry bark (sqwotsin). At the other end of the shaft two duck feathers are tied, opposite each other. According to Eells woodpecker feathers are also used.[205] The feathers (tłɛkayusin) are also fastened with cherry bark. The points of arrows vary according to the use to which they are put. Ordinarily they are of elk bone, but if in hunting, an elk bone point does not kill the animal, another arrow with a stone point is shot. For war the arrow point is very loosely fastened to the shaft, so that when a person tries to pull it out the point remains in the wound. In shooting, the bow is held horizontally, the thumb and little finger behind it and the three other fingers in

[205] Eells, (a), 620.

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front. The arrow is held between the forefinger and second finger and is pulled back without touching the bow string.

The quiver is made of bearskin with the fur on. Eells also mentions wolfskin for this purpose.[206] The piece of skin is folded along the middle of the long side and sewn at both ends, and up the long side to within a short distance from the top. This space is left open to take out the arrows. It is worn on the left side, hung over the shoulder by a narrow strip of bearskin.

The data are very fragmentary, but since none of the people living today ever used bows and arrows, except crude ones in play as children, it is natural that the details are forgotten. Therefore the information given by Vancouver is especially valuable:

"Their spears, arrows, fishgigs and other weapons were shaped exactly like those of the Nootka; but none were pointed with copper, or with muscle shell. The three former were generally barbed and those pointed with common flint, agate, and bone, seemed of their original workmanship. Yet more of their arrows were observed to be pointed with thin flat iron, than with bone or flint, and it was very singular that they should prefer exchanging those pointed with iron to any of the others. Their bows were of a superior construction; these in general were from two and a half to three feet in length; the broadest part in the middle was about an inch thick, neatly made, gradually tapering to each end, which terminated in a shoulder and a hook, for the security of the bow string. They were all made of yew, and chosen with a naturally inverted curve suited to the method of using them. From end to end of the concave side, which when strung became the convex part, a very strong strip of an elastic hide is attached to some, and the skins of serpents to others, exactly the shape and length of the bow, neatly and firmly affixed to the wood by means of a cement the adhesive property of which I never saw or heard of being equalled. It is not to be affected by either dry or damp weather, and forms so strong a connection with the wood, as to prevent a separation without destroying the component parts of both. The bow string is made of the sinew of some marine animal laid loose in order to be twisted at pleasure, as the temperature of the atmosphere may require to preserve it at a proper length."[207]

A double elkskin shirt, with sleeves (?) is worn as a body protection over the usual deerskin shirt. Gibbs describes a shirt of ankle length, without sleeves as being used by the Chinook, but states definitely that neither this nor slat armor was used in Washington Territory.[208] Eells states that both deerskin and elkskin were used for armor.[209] According to my informant the Klallam did not use slat armor.

If a demand for blood money had been refused the visiting party would withdraw a short distance to prepare for an attack. The people in the village

[206] *Ibid.*, 619.
[207] Vancouver, I, 253.
[208] Gibbs, (a), 192.
[209] Eells, (a), 619.

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also prepared by taking the women, children and old people to a safe place in the woods. If the village was stockaded, as many were, either permanently or during a long period of hostilities, the stockade was made fast and the warriors mounted on the inside to receive the onslaught. The favorite time for attacking, whether expected or as a surprise was just at daybreak. A stockade is generally attacked by hurling burning mats or torches over the walls.

When a war party goes out to attack a strange village they camp a short distance away and send scouts who ascertain the position of the houses and the number of people about. Since many attacks are made primarily to secure slaves, plunder and heads, the usual procedure is to kill the men and decapitate them, herd the women and children into their canoes to carry them off and then after pillaging the houses set fire to them.

Should the attacked village offer any stubborn resistance, the attacking party withdrew. Likewise if one or more warriors, according to the size of the party, were killed, the attack would be abandoned. There was very rarely any fighting in the open.[210]

Scalping is not practised by the Klallam, but they bring home enemies' heads as trophies. These heads are displayed on tall poles that stand in every village ready to receive their grim decorations. The heads are always set on the poles to face the sunrise. As long as they are kept there, a dance is performed about the poles every day. The men dance while the women beat time and sing. The heads are usually kept for several days or a week.

In the neighborhood of Port Townsend, Vancouver saw two upright poles set in the ground about fifteen feet high and rudely carved. On the top of each was stuck a human head recently placed there. The hair and flesh were nearly perfect, and the heads appeared to carry evidence of fury or revenge, as in driving the stakes through the throat to the cranium, the saggital, with part of the scalp, was borne on their points, some inches above the rest of the skull. Between the stakes a fire had been made, and near it some calcined bones were observed, but none of these appearances enabled them to satisfy themselves concerning the manner in which the bodies were disposed of.[211]

The following narratives of wars with neighboring tribes give some adequate notion of the conflict.

The Klallam once went over to the east coast of Vancouver Island to attack the Cowichan. On their way they saw some Cowichan who were apparently coming across to attack one of the Klallam villages. One of the Klallam warriors who had the Thunder spirit made it rain and thunder so the Cowichan landed and crept under their canoes. The Klallam then came ashore near the Cowichan camp and sent out several young men as scouts. They came back to tell the warriors just where the enemy was. Half the Klallam

[210] Gibbs states, using Ross Cox as his authority, that the Chinook fought from their canoes, inclining them so as to present the higher flank to the enemy. The Klallam did not mention any such procedure but may have done it in the days when fighting was more the order of the day (Gibbs, (a), 191).

[211] Vancouver, I, 255.

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then went to this place in boat and half in their canoes. They attacked the Cowichan of whom only a few escaped.

The Klallam of the Elwha, Port Angeles, Dungeness and Washington Harbor set out on an expedition against the Lowamish Sukamish on the White River in answer a child that had been stolen from Washington Harbor. There were several canoes full of warriors. They paddled up the White River until they saw a canoe coming toward them. They pulled in behind some trees that had fallen into the river. In the Klallam canoe that remained in sight there were men lying in the bottom and two sitting up eating clams. They called to the men in the Lowamish canoe. When they came near the Klallam in the bottom of the canoe jumped up and pulled the Lowamish into their canoe. They turned these boys in quite from through the rapids of the river. The next morning they reached the village. Some Klallam landed and searched stealthily for the child. When they entered a large house they saw a child get up from the bed and run behind a post. They found out that he was the stolen child. They brought him to a safe place and then attacked the village. A few people of the village fled but most of them were killed. The Klallam then burned the houses. When the boys had guided the Klallam to the mouth of the river the Klallam met some people who invited them to a feast but they, fearing that they might be killed, turned away and went home.

The Klallam gathered at Washington Harbor in order to go on an expedition against some people on the Snohomish River. All the warriors gathered there had the thunder spirit except one, the son of a rich woman whose only spirit power was that of wealth. As soon as the fight began the Snohomish killed this man. One of the other Klallam did not like to see the body lying in a strange country so he picked it up and carried the corpse toward the Klallam canoes. The Snohomish were driving the Klallam off and they all ran toward their canoes. The man who was carrying the corpse was a good runner but the weight of the dead man held him back. A Snohomish came up to him, saying that they had the power to kill him, that power being the yellow jacket. The Klallam threw the corpse from his shoulder and said, "If you had not told me that, you would have killed me, for that is my power too." He fixed his arrow and the Snohomish cocked his gun. They shot at each other. The first arrow shot by the Klallam killed the Snohomish. When a second Snohomish came out of the bushes the Klallam killed him also. Meanwhile two Klallam came to help their comrade. So the three made a desperate stand, fighting the Snohomish. When the Snohomish saw their warriors dropping, they turned back. Then the Klallam picked up the dead man again and made their way through the marsh to their canoes.

The fight at the Dungeness lighthouse was the last attack made by the Klallam on another tribe. Since there are many descriptions of the massacre on record, a brief mention of it here is sufficient.[212] The Tsimshian, returning from two years' work in the mill at Port Ludlow, camped on the lighthouse

[212] A good account is given by Curtis (IX, 22-24).

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spit near Dungeness. The Klallam from Port Discovery came to Washington Harbor and Dungeness asking the men there to join them in attacking the Tsimshian. They went out toward daybreak for the attack. All the Tsimshian except a woman were killed. She was wounded and feigned death. After the massacre she escaped to Port Townsend and thence to Victoria. During the attack one Klallam was killed. He was wealthy man from Dungeness. Someone bore him a grudge and decided that this would be a good opportunity to kill him for the people might think that the Tsimshian had done it.

The Quinault made war on the Upper Elwah group quite frequently. An attack that is still remembered occured when my informant's great grandmother was living there. A group of these Elwah Klallam were just crossing a prairie near the upper river when a war party of Quinault stepped out of the forest on the other side. The head man ordered the Elwah back into the woods so that only ten of them stayed with him to meet the ten Quinault that came out. The smallest of the Elwah rushed out to attack one of the largest Quinault warriors. The Quinault slung the little man on his shoulder and began to carry him away. When he tried to shake the little Elwah off, the man clung to his hair so that the Quinault had to call for help. Meanwhile the Elwah had killed most of the Quinault and came to attack this man. They killed him and freed the little Elwah.

Another tale needs some explanatory remarks. The people believe that the wolves were their friends. They made little wolf's heads to wear on their heads and used whistles of cedar and cherry bark. During the potlatches and secret society performances they blew these whistles and put the wolf's heads on the younger boys. They covered the boys with blankets and draped them so they would look like wolves. They crawled around on the ground and howled, imitating the wolves. For this reason my informant believes they are descended from the wolf children. According to him there is no other tribe on Puget Sound who can use the wolf mask.[213] Washington Harbor was full of wolves in the middle of the last century. They could be heard howling in the evening. They were friendly to the village at Washington Harbor and never attacked any of the people from there, but killed others.

The upper class in this village trace their descent from the wolf boys. My informant's mother told him that when his grandfather was going up Sequim Bay in a canoe he saw a wolf climbing the bank with a seal on his back. He saw the wolf and said, "Oh, nɛsᵘxstonuq (my older brother), give me that seal which you have. Let me have it." The wolf turned his head and looked at the man. He dropped the seal and pushed it over the bank. The wolf watched the man until he had the seal in his canoe. The wolf then wagged his tail and showed his teeth, as a dog does when he is happy.

This same man called on the wolves for help. He did this whenever he had a grudge against some one and wanted to kill him. Once some Lummi tried to tip his canoe because he had shot a loon which they thought was theirs.

[213] Doubtless this is connected with the wolf ritual of the Nootka.

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They shot a loon with an arrow but they could not get the bird after it was shot. The Klallam knew the loon would come up so he waited. When it came up he shot and killed it. The Lummi came to this man and spoke roughly. They thought he was going to take the loon and tried to tip over his canoe. The man said, "I am not trying to take this loon. I have many kinds of ducks and never eat loon. My people live over there on the spit. Whenever I want ducks I can get two canoes full of them." After he said this he reached for their canoe and tipped it over. The women struggled to get back into the canoe and the man paddled away. The Lummi immediately went home.

Many months after this event five brothers of these Lummi came over in a canoe with the intention of killing this Klallam. It happened that he was on the spit gathering wood. The canoe stopped nearby and a Lummi warrior came to him and said, "You are the one we are after. You and I will fight for you troubled my brothers when they were here." The Lummi had an old fashioned rifle and the Klallam had a bow and arrow. The Lummi warrior said, "You can shoot me." The Klallam answered, "No, you are after me; you can shoot first." Then the Lummi said, "No, you shoot me with your arrow." But the Klallam said, "No, you shoot with your gun." The men were close together, just about a gun's length apart. When he saw that the Klallam would not shoot the Lummi suddenly raised his gun and putting it against his enemy pulled the trigger. When he shot the gun exploded and went to pieces. It kicked so hard the Lummi fell down. When he was on the ground the Klallam shot him with his arrow which pierced his hips. He could not get up again. The Klallam walked to his canoe which was beside the Lummi canoe. He said to the Lummi in the canoe, "Don't move; if you do I will shoot you." They did not dare move. The old man stepped into his canoe and paddled away. Then the Lummi pulled the arrow out of their brother. They took him to their canoe and went home. They never came again.

After this the Klallam man would go to the lagoon at dusk. He would call on the wolves and ask them to lend him their teeth. Soon he would feel that he had some power. Then he mentioned the names of the Lummi brothers who had come after him and acted as though he were eating them. A few days after he did this the news came that all the Lummi except the one who had been shot, were drowned while they were duck hunting at night.

DIVERSIONS

Games. There are three kinds of games indulged in by the Klallam; gambling games, which are played at potlatches or at any other gathering where strangers are present; athletic contests, also used at potlatches but also frequently entered into by the young men of the village; games played by children and women for amusement. The gambling games are always played with outsiders, for people in a village do not like to take each other's money. At potlatches all the guests would gamble, in fact that is the chief entertainment during the day when there are no dances. Large amounts of property change

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hands on these occasions. The professional gambler is a figure that appears at every social gathering. He is always known and people who play with him hardly expect to win. Professional gamblers generally travel in pairs. Their trade is in no wise held in disrepute, unless they have actually been caught at cheating. While they have their tricks that insure winning they do not resort to outright cheating continuously. They are men who make a study of facial expressions and place their guesses according to what they read on their opponent's countenance. Although they say the professional gambler is a man of good social standing, still it is recorded that when one of them became chief of his village, succeeding his father, he no longer followed his pursuit.

There are spirit powers which give help for gambling. The sun is especially powerful for this as for the accumulation of wealth. A man from Washington Harbor had gone over to Whidby Island to gamble and had lost everything he took with him. He paddled home in the fog, drifting along without caring whether he lost his way or not. He struck a rock with his paddle and this became his power. After arriving at home he did not eat for many days. This made him an expert at the disk game, slaha'lɛm. Another man secured success in playing the disk game for his whole tribe. He was walking along the road at Jamestown when he heard a disk game song although there was nobody near him. It was a calm, windless day. He looked up and saw two cottonwood trees moving their top limbs just the way a player moves his arms in the disk game. From that time on the Klallam always won when they played the disk game during the hop picking season.

If the disk game gambler should find a small fungus on bullrushes or on a salmonberry bush, he takes it off and mixes it with the shredded cedar bark of his gaming outfit. This brings luck. If they do not have some of this fungus they always pray to sɛqwa'tci, the earth, for success in their game.

A gambler has a person who helps him by wishing confusion on the opponents. This person sits somewhere out of sight while the game is going on. He mentions first the name of the person against whom he is wishing and then says, "Your eyes are dull; your mind is dull; your guesses are wrong." A person who wishes against another is called c'qwī'c. The gambler pays him unless he is one of the people betting on his side; then the wisher does it to make the side successful. Women as well as men do the wishing. The person who is wished against is called qwa'ɛcai'yo. With these aids and sureties of success, the gambler fares forth to win his fortune.

Gambling Games. Slaha'l is the most popular gambling game. It is played with two cylindrical bones about two and one half to three inches long and three quarters of an inch in diameter, just large enough to fit comfortably in the hand. One bone is plain, called the woman (sla'nī); the other has a narrow band of black around the middle, the man (swē'tka). Long ago only one plain bone was used. Then the opponent guessed in which hand it was. Cheating was done by slipping the bone from one hand into the other. Now they play with two bones, guessing for the unmarked one. Occasionally in a big game four bones are put into play, being held by two people.

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The counters, usually twenty in number, are slender sticks about one foot long. One side must get them all either once or twice according to the size of the stakes.

The players sit in two rows on the ground facing each other. In front of each is a long wooden plank on which the side that has the bones beats time with sticks while their opponents guess. Between these planks are laid the counters. As a side wins points, the counters are stuck in the ground before their plank. The partisans of each side who do not kneel behind the plank are grouped behind their players, singing with them.

When two sets of bones are used the following signs are used by the guessing side to indicate the position of the plain bone. The prime (′) marks the position of the one to be guessed for:

Hiders,	—A—		—B—		
Hands	a′	a	b′	b	Guesser holds up thumb and first finger.
Hands	a	a′	b	b′	Guesser points forefinger down.
Hands	a	a′	b′	b	Guesser points right hand to left.
Hands	a′	a	b	b′	Guesser points right hand to right.

When only one set of bones is used and there are only a few players the person guessing will follow with his right hand the movements of the hider and when he has made his decision he stops his right hand with his forefinger pointing at the hand of the hider and simultaneously claps his left hand on his upper arm.

At the beginning of the game ten counters are stuck in the ground in front of the plank of each side. If a guesser misses when one set of bones is used, he loses one counter, if two sets are used and he misses both, he loses two. The guesser takes the bones when he guesses correctly.

Slaha′lɛm is another gambling game which enjoys equal popularity with the hand game, slaha′l. There are professional gamblers (nuxslaha′lɛm) who travel about playing only this game. It is played at potlatches and similar social gatherings. The game is played with disks (slaha′lɛm) made of dogwood (slahalɛmī′ltc), a little larger than a silver dollar. There are about eight or ten disks used in the game. They are unpainted except one which is to be guessed for. This is red or black. The other paraphernalia consists of a large bunch of cedar bark (s′tsīhai′tc), a rush mat (slaha′lɛmatł), ironwood pins and counters (s′tcē). The rush mat is laid on level ground. If the mat is long enough, about three feet of it are unrolled at each end and the remainder is rolled up in the center so that the disks can be rolled against it. The mat is pinned down with the ironwood pins. The two players are seated at the ends

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of the mat facing each other, with the roll of the mat half way between them. Only two men play against each other, the crowd of betters standing behind them to encourage their champions with singing. Should a player fail repeatedly another from this group would take his place.

The player who begins covers the disks with the shredded cedar bark, mixing them thoroughly into the bark. Then he pulls the bark apart so that half the disks are in each hand. While the guesser is making his decision the hider moves these bundles of cedar bark in which the disks are hidden in a rotary movement on the mat. The guesser follows the bundle which he chooses with his forefinger. When he stops his finger and raises it slightly his guess is made. He guesses for the bundle containing the painted disk.

If his guess is wrong he loses one counter, if correct he takes the disks. There are usually twenty counters in the game, but if the stakes are high they must be won twice by one side.

This game can be played in two ways, either with or without singing and dancing. The side that has the disks tries to divert the mind of the guesser by singing ridiculous songs and dancing. When the game has this accompaniment it is called wa'q!kats. The group of people who bet are the ones who sing and dance. This group included both men and women.

Quarrels frequently develop in these games. At one potlatch they were playing the disk game with dancing when one side had lost all but one counter. A new man came in and won back half the sticks. Then the losing side began to fight, the principal players wrestling with one another. The chief stopped the quarrel. The wrestlers were two well known shamans.

Women never play either of the gambling games described above although they are usually present and participate in the singing and dancing. They have, however, a gambling game of their own, smī'tali, the beaver teeth game. The dice are either natural beaver teeth or bone carved in the shape of beaver teeth. There are four teeth used. One is plain on both sides with a black string tied around the center. This is called the man (swē'tka). The three others have dots on one side and are plain on the other. These are the women (sla'nī).[214] The game is played by two people sitting on opposite sides of a blanket or mat. The one who starts throws the teeth on the blanket. The count is made according to the position in which the teeth fall. If the "women" have dotted sides down it counts four sticks. Two "women" with dots down, one with dots up counts two sticks. All other throws count as nothing. If one side gets nothing it surrenders the dice. Before the game commences the players decide how many times all counters must be won by one side. There are twenty counters and if the stakes are high they must often be won three times.

The women play this game at potlatches using their mats, basketry, and dried fish for stakes. There are no professional gamblers among them as among the men but there are some women who know how to throw winning combinations.

[214] Culin describes two "men" marked with dots and two "women" with chevrons (Culin, 155).

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Gambling songs. There is a large body of gambling songs which are used at every potlatch. It is interesting that a man who had once been a professional gambler could not recall any songs with Klallam words. They are all sung in the Chinook jargon, or with words from Vancouver Island. The same songs are used everywhere; this perhaps accounts for the lingua franca. In the hand game when the guessing side loses the bones, this song of derision is sung in jargon:

Kłahowyah maika staham
  How good your guess
Maika tsīpī hailī hī
  Your mistake (syllables of derision)
Hai lī hī hai lī hī.

In addition to the songs used by the spectators during the game, the professional gamblers have songs which give them success. These are always acquired through some spirit experience or through inheritance. A man was wounded and his spirit told him to go into the salt water and sing his song. As he sang his arms began to move as though he were shaking the bones in the hand game although before they had been so sore from his wounds that he could not move them. When he came out of the water they were healed. He used this song later to help sick people. His nephew saw him helping a dying person with it once. The old man told him to use this song when he is gambling but the nephew never made use of it. The song had no words, just syllables to carry the tune. It was sung while the player had the bones.

Women's and children's games. While the men either gamble or indulge in athletic games, the women and children have several games which are played just by way of amusement. These games are played at any time either in the houses or on the beach.

In the laughing game (tsatsūmha'yus) the women sit on the ground in two opposite rows. In the ground between them is stuck a stick with a clam shell hanging on it. The object of the game is to get this shell without laughing or smiling. The side that starts sets out the shell and sings a challenge to their opponents. A woman from the other side then comes to get it. When she comes out they point at her saying, "Look at her nose; look at her face; look at the way she walks," or anything else that is personal in order to make her laugh. If she laughs another one from her side tries. One side must get the shell four times to win. Children as well as women play this game.

Shuttlecock and battledore (s'a'kwīa) is a game which adults and children play together, especially after the evening meal before bedtime. The shuttlecock (s'akwīa) is made of a piece of wood about one and one-half inches long from which the pith is removed. Three or four duck quills about two and one half inches long are stuck into it. The battledore (s'akwīa'tun) is a cedar stick about sixteen inches long and six inches broad at the top. The object is to see how long a person can keep the stick with the quills in the air, batting it

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with this cedar stick. Each person has his own set and keeps his own count. There is no betting in this game.

Hiding the ball is played generally by children and young people but sometimes adults take part as well. One person hides a small ball in the clothing of one of the players and then calls on another to find it. If the person called on finds it, he is the next one to hide the ball.

There is one rather unusual game which carries with it some social significance and faint vestige of the privileges that are so important further north. It is called suxts!a'sɛn, meaning anything higher than the ground that one can stand on. A springy board of red fir, clear of knots is laid on two blocks of wood. Five or six people get on and jump while the spectators sing. Only the descendants of the originators of the game may play it. If a person falls off it is clear that he got on under false pretenses. The game is played at potlatches. The Swinomish are supposed to play it as well as the Klallam.

Athletic games and contests. These games such as shinny, hoop and pole game, tugs of war are played by the men and boys of a village by way of exercise and amusement and also at potlatches. For such games a team from one village will train and practice together. A good team often travels just as gamblers do but there never is any betting on these sports.

Shinny (q!qwī''oēs) is played with a ball (snī'ok) made of a knot of maple. It is about the size of a baseball. A limb of fir which is naturally bent is used for the stick (q!qwī'oēsɛn). The game is generally played on the beach, the field being a few hundred yards long and ten to twelve yards wide. There is no limit to the number of players on a side, provided the sides are even. The teams face each other at one side of the field, lining up along its length. The ball is put on the ground between them. Each side is supposed to have four good runners (xᵘwaiya'wa), two of which stand at each end of the line. The best runner of the team on the offensive hits the ball. If he hits it, all on both sides start chasing the ball, one side trying to drive it down to their goal, the other side trying to drive it back. If the first man misses, one from the other side makes an easy point by knocking it into their goal (swīai'kᵘtun).

The stick is held with both hands. There are no restrictions to the manner of its use. Tripping an opponent is permissible. When the ball is first hit any man can catch it in his hands and carry it to his goal. He is pursued by a good runner from the opposing team who catches him by the arm and forces him to drop the ball, if possible. A team is given one point for making a goal. After a goal is made, the teams line up at the winner's goal and the other side hits the ball first. If one team gets the ball over their goal twice in succession they win.

Tossing the ball in the air (kak!tū'mus) is another men's game. A ball like the shinny ball is used. The men stand in a close group while one tosses up the ball. When it comes down they jump for it. The one who catches it breaks out of the group and runs. All the others pursue him. The one who catches the runner tosses the ball up next. Boys and young men play this.

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The hoop and pole game (ka'tlem) is played with an ironwood pole (ka'tlemtun) about six feet long and a hoop (sū'yeq) made of a green twig bent round and tied with a string. One player rolls the hoop while another throws the pole, aiming to drive it through the hoop and stick it in the ground. If he succeeds the player who rolled the hoop loses one counter, which is a pole. When one player has won six counters, another takes his turn. This is played only by boys.

Men frequently have tugs of war which are played only for fun, not for betting. The leader of each line is its strongest man. The two leaders facing each other grasp a stout stick so that their hands are on it alternately. The men in the lines behind them hold each around the waist of the one ahead.

A similar sport is having two teams each standing behind a stick, eight to twelve feet long, running toward each other and trying to push each other back. This is called xa'haiyī.

Target shooting (tcaikwī''īm) is practised for pleasure. The target (k!ok!oñ) is the bulb end of kelp set up on a little mound. The arrows are those used for duck shooting.

Good wrestlers travel like professional gamblers, performing occasionally just to try each other's strength, but generally when they come to a big gathering the people bet on their favorites. In wrestling they use the back hold and also grip each other's hair. This latter hold often results in breaking the wrestler's neck.

At potlatches canoe races are staged between the visiting villages. There are special racing canoes which are about forty feet long and just wide enough to seat one person. For these canoes the men were especially trained. Alternate ones paddle on the same side. For the wider canoe any good paddler would do. There the men sit two in a seat, one paddling on each side. The course is usually a mile and one-half long, the boats paddling to the goal and returning. The spectators bet on these races.

Footraces on the other hand are run only one way to a goal, the course being two to three hundred yards long. Races are generally run on the beach or prairie. Although there are no professional runners, still there is betting on these races.

Other contests consist of lifting and throwing heavy rocks or any other way of showing strength. There is no boxing.

Smoking. Smoking is an aboriginal custom among the Klallam although they did not get tobacco until the advent of the whites. Formerly yew leaves which had been dried over the fire were shaken from the branches, crumbled up and smoked in stone pipes. The stem of these pipes is the wing bone of a duck. This information is entirely a matter of hearsay because nobody in the present population saw any of these pipes or has ever smoked anything but tobacco. Both men and women smoked, a married couple often passing one pipe back and forth between them.

Wilkes states that the Klallam of Port Discovery cultivated tobacco and

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had carved pipes.[215] I should doubt the first of these statements very much.

Spruce gum and the pitch of red fir are chewed for pleasure and to whiten the teeth.

[215] Wilkes, (a), 299.

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THE SECRET SOCIETY

With the Kwakiutl as a center of distribution, secret societies are found in most coast tribes of the Northwest, from the southern Tlingit to southern Washingon. It is clear that all these societies have one origin and have been diffused from tribe to tribe. The basis of membership is the ability to pay a large amount of property to the members of the society. Among the tribes where caste is very important only people of the upper classes may belong and nowhere may a slave be initiated. A Klallam informant states that generally among his people there were more non-members in a village than members.

The ceremonials of the Klallam society are usually conducted during a potlatch and always center around the initiation of new members. The ritual is performed in the presence of non-members, the only secret being the knowledge of the origin of the society and the source of its power.

The spectators are always kept at a distance. During the final acts of the initiation the non-members watch from their canoes. When the performance is conducted indoors the house is divided by a rope, the members staying on the side where the novices' enclosure is. When an outdoor dance is given the spectators are frequently frightened away purposely by the performers to impress them with the power of the xūnxanī'te.

Among the Klallam the secret society is called xūnxanī'te[216] which means "to growl". The Klallam have only this society whereas their neighbors to the west, the Quilleute and Makah have at least two. So do the more northerly peoples, the Songish, and Nootka, and among the Kwakiutl there are many.[217] My Klallam informant states quite characteristically that the society began among the Klallam and was then taken over by the Skokomish, Snohomish, and British Columbia tribes. This is being recorded merely to give their perspective. Although no exact data exists it is fairly certain that the Skokomish have a secret society. As to the Snohomish, it is rather doubtful. Dr. Haeberlin, in gathering a fairly complete account of Snohomish life and in working with the sort of informant who would know of its existence, has not recorded the least trace of such a group.

The Klallam origin tale for the secret society was recorded in four versions, which are interesting as variants of the same theme. The first two were related by Collier, the third by Mrs. Davis, and the last by Joe Johnson.

Some people say it started from a woman. There was a young woman who said she did not like ducks. Yet when her people were away, if there were any ducks cooked she would eat the meat from a breast bone for that was the best meat. She would eat it as fast as she could for she did not want her people to find her eating the food she had refused. By eating so fast she caught her lip on the wishbone, making her mouth bleed. It bled so much that she could not hide it. This was a terrible shame for her and her

[216] "Hun-ha-ne'ti, a performance of conjuring or 'tama'nous' (Chinook), known to the Nisquallies as s'hi'-na, in which it is pretended that the person initiated is killed and then restored to life" (Gibbs, (b), 15).

[217] "There is only one secret society among the Salish tribes and that is confined to the Clallam, Sooke, Songish, Sanetch and Lummi. It is called hunhanitin, "much groaning" (Curtis, IX, 112).

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parents. So they talked together and decided to make it some kind of power. They called it xūnxanl'te and began groaning together as though they were possessed by some power. They called it a great power but it was all false, for they did it of their own will.

The second origin tale told by the same informant is the following:

A group of people were out duck hunting with torches at night. When they had gotten some ducks the men started cooking them. They all sat down to eat. One of the men was very greedy and tried to eat all the best parts. In doing this he ripped his tongue on the wishbone. They were so ashamed of this accident that they tried to make something out of it. They began to groan while this man was bleeding. The man with the bleeding mouth began to crawl around on the ground, acting as though he were possessed by a great power. They went home and urged their relatives to join. As new members joined they were told how the affair began. They made the rules very strict so that they would not be broken and the shameful incident revealed. The group became very strong because they frightened all the others. Some people asked, "What is it all about?" So they told them, "Join and you will find out." Many people joined and soon those who were outside believed that the group had a great power.

The same tale was also told by a Beecher Bay Klallam who gave Skokomish as the setting for the incident.

The fourth origin tale has the same principal incident but its setting differs slightly.

A man was proposing for a girl. Her parents liked him but the girl would not have him. He was a great duck hunter so he used to give her parents all kinds of ducks. The girl refused to eat any of them because they came from him. One time after the man had brought some ducks her mother gave her a piece with the wishbone in it. She was hungry and wanted to eat it but she was ashamed to eat what her suitor had brought, so she turned to the wall and ate it quickly. She scratched her tongue on the wishbone so badly that her mouth bled. They called this a power but it really was nothing at all.[218]

Initiation into the secret society always takes place during a potlatch. It does not depend upon the acquisition of a guardian spirit. Children are usually initiated during adolescence but a person considerably older may still join. The requirements for initiation are that the novice have no slave blood and that his family give a reasonable amount of property to the members of the society. When Collier joined his people gave $300 to members of the society. There were nine others who joined when he did.

The membership is open to men and women alike. Although slaves are never initiated into this society, they may join in the ceremonies if they belonged to the organization in their own tribe. If it is thought that a person knows anything about the secret, he is either forced to join, or in the old days, if he was regarded as an undesirable member, he was killed.

The following account of an initiation is that of Robert Collier told by himself.

When I joined there were ten of us joining, two of Xałxēnim's boys, the two La Hash boys, Jimmie Dick, Edward Shanks, Nancy Howe, Richard

[218] The following is the origin of the secret society according to Curtis. A Klallam man cut his cheek on a splintered duck bone and the wound bled for days. To turn his misfortune into a boon he and his friends planned a ceremony, announcing that special powers would be given to the suffering man. They painted black, dressed grotesquely, wore masks, danced and groaned, crawling around on the ground. Later they claimed the power of divination, that they could trace lost souls and objects and stolen goods. To make these assertions good they stole articles and hid them. For a price at the meeting they found them again. They initiated others for a high admission price. All members were sworn to absolute secrecy with a death penalty for telling their tricks. Initiations became the chief outward expression of the society's existence though the leaders claimed credit for any good fortune that befell the tribe (Curtis, IX, 112).

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Wood, a sister of Henry Allen and myself. Our old people asked us to join. My people wanted me in the xūnxanī'te because membership shows that you are of high class. When a family has some children joining they send to members in another village and ask them to come to sing and dance for them. Each child that joins has a village to act for him or if there are too many children one village may take two.

When I joined, the initiation was at Xałxēnim's potlatch. The Port Gamble people came inside the spit and tied their canoes together. They started singing out in the bay. Before they had gone far my people hid me and Richard Wood in our house. I did not know they were coming for me, because I did not know that I was going to join the xūnxanī'te. I thought I might as well hide so I covered myself with everything I could find. The door was closed but I thought they might come in anyway. My cousin did the same.

I heard someone kick the door open. All the people who were filled with the xūnxanī'te came in first. One man was rushing around and the others tried to hold him back by a rope tied around his waist. He was bleeding at the mouth. The others carried knives, axes and war spears and acted as though they would kill anyone they saw. I held myself as still as I could. They had been told whom to go after so they knew they would find me. They pulled the beds apart and threw everything around till they came to the corner where I was. I did not squeal or move. I thought this was my last day. My relatives from Port Gamble took me and told me I was not going to be killed but I should act as though I were dead. They said, "We are going to cover you with blankets and take you to the potlatch house." While they were carrying me from the house I thought they would still kill me for I knew they killed the children and brought them to life again with their songs.

When they uncovered me I was in a corner of the potlatch house where several other children were already sitting. The corner was screened off with blankets from the rest of the house. I saw the others there and we were glad to see each other.

After we were taken to the potlatch house the following meaningless song was sung. It is intended to soothe the one who has the xūnxanī'te spirit in him and to sober all the members. The members sing it while they are still in the house; they stand together and just bend their knees to the rhythm:

wī yī ya ha yē ha wī
wī yī ya ha yē ha wī
wī ī ya ha e ha wī
wī ī ya ha a yē ya wa
sla ya kwa la yē ē hawē
slō qwa le ha ē
ha wē.

We were kept in this place for a week and they gave us very little to eat. What we got was brought to us by women who belonged to the xūnxanī'te.

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They carried the food under shawls they wore for nobody must see them bringing it in. All the people who did not belong believed that we were dead.

Outside the place where they kept us a watchman stood. If any of us whispered or made any noise he began singing and swinging his duck rattle (swī'mūxtc). The words of his song are not Klallam and "do not mean anything".

ī yañē ī yañē
ī yañē ī yañē
ī yū wañē ī yañē.

This singing drowned our noise. When he went out another took his place. When everybody was asleep he started his song just to show that he was awake.

During this week the potlatch was going on. After meals the members of the xūnxanī'te would dance and sing before the place where we were. All the members had their faces painted black through the whole potlatch. Everybody could watch their dances. If a member ever laughed while they were singing and dancing they would kill him. I never saw them do this but they say in the old days it was done. They killed him too if he told anybody that there really was no power in the xūnxanī'te.

One of the evening dances was done to this song:

xanu kucu wayay axay aya
xanu kucu waya ya.

These words do not mean anything.

When the women danced they stood in a circle around the man who was their leader. They danced forward and moved their outstretched arms up and down, with the palm forward. When the leader came to the place where they had started they danced in place. The leader of the singing who stood in the center of the circle danced back and forth in that space while holding a fan made of the tail feathers of an eagle. The words to this woman's dance are not Klallam; they are:

nū klēma hi ya haiwa
hai wa hai yī
nū klem tcīstewa
hī ya hai yī.

There is still another song which they use when dancing at night. The words of this are not Klallam either, but from British Columbia.

tsīts' wa ha yī yī
yī yē
wa ha yē
hai ya hi yē
xū nō tsī tswa
ha yē hai ya hī ya.

Sometimes the men and women together sang another song in which the words are not Klallam. You see many of our songs were brought from across the Strait. This song is

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hai ya hai ī yu
hai ya hai ya
repeated three times
hai ya qwaclqwa
wītsakala
repeated twice.

When they sang these songs all the young people danced. Sometimes older men, men as old as I am now, danced too but only the lively young women were in it. I can remember when I was as big as he (pointing to a boy of three) my mother danced in this xunxanī'te, carrying me tied in a shawl on her back. That is the first I knew of this xūnxanī'te. When the women dance, they always hold one hand at the shoulder with the palm forward and the other arm is at full arm's length. They change these positions with the music. The men hold their arms straight out at the shoulders and move them up and down with the music. Their palms are forward too.

In this dance each one moves about fifteen feet. The leader tells them what to sing and he starts it for them. The men and women each dance in two groups. The women dance toward each other, and each group turns to the right so that they make two circles, one inside the other. The men do the same in their groups. The leader runs up and down the space between them. Some women act more with their heads, moving them backward and forward. The men never do this. Each person could dance the way he wanted to and they all practiced at home before they came.

When they dance like this each person carries a fan of eagle feathers, one in each hand. To make these fans they chop off the tail of the eagle with the flesh that holds the tail feathers. It is nailed to the wall and spread out as it should be. When it has dried it will stay spread out. This fan did not belong to the xūnxanī'te when it was first celebrated; someone gave it to them later. For the headdresses they used brown and black wing feathers of the eagle. Each headband had seven feathers, two in front, two on each side and one in the back. At the top of each feather they tied a strip of cedar bark painted red. It was six inches long. Later in my day they used pieces of red flannel or ribbon. For all these dances their faces were painted black.

After we had been in that place for four days they took us up the bank at night and taught us how to act when we became members. There were watchmen all through the woods to see that nobody was watching. They told us the story of the xūnxanī'te and told us that if we ever made fun of it a medicine man would kill us. After becoming members we had to be very careful. Every night after that we went up there and learned how to dance and sing.

After the week was over they took us out of that place. Some children had courage enough to cut their tongues. Some could not do it so those who had cut themselves smeared their blood on the mouths and faces of the others. The members carried each of us out alone for we were still supposed to be

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dead. There was a crowd of members waiting outside of the house. Those who did not belong could only watch from far away. When they brought one of us out the members outside cried, "ya, wī, wī, ya . . . ", fading out. Each child was lifted up in the air three times. The third time he came to life. That is what they told us to do when we practised at night on the bank. As soon as each of us was brought back to life two young men took us, each by one arm, and ran with us to the place where they put on our dancing clothes. We were naked when we came out of the house. Only the girls and men who were older than we children wore little aprons.

At Washington Harbor they always dressed the children near the lagoon. When they had run each of us to the lagoon we had gotten our power. We all received something to show this. I got a bow and arrow my uncle made for me. Some of the others got fans of cedar with strips of red flannel hanging from them. These fans showed that the children belong to a high class. Edward Shanks danced alone for he had a brave spirit. They put a point like a crane's beak on the front of his headdress.

When the children were all dressed the old members divided into two groups, one taking the boys and one the girls. There were more boys than girls so there were two groups that took boys. The men stood in a line and put all us boys in front of them. Then we started to come back to the village. They told us that if any of us stumbled and fell we should never get up for we were supposed to be made unconscious by such a fall. We would be picked up and carried back. I do not remember that anyone ever fell.

When we came back to the village two members took each of us by the arms and ran with us to the potlatch house where a big mat was spread on the ground. We had been told to lie on this, all with our faces turned the same way and groan. We all did this and while we were lying there the old members started singing their songs. One of them danced before each of us on the mat. He danced to get the power out of us. As soon as he got the power out of one of us we stopped groaning and he started acting as though he had it. The other old members would run after him and try to get him quiet. There was no special persons for each child, anyone that wanted to could dance.

When the xūnxanī'te power had been taken out of us all our parents came to take us home. The next day the gifts of the potlatch were given out and then our parents gave money away. They called the high men from other places who were members of the xūnxanī'te and gave them as much as they could. When I joined my people gave $300 away. This is a special thing, not just potlatch money.

After we were taken home we were still not in our right minds. For a long time we could not wash our faces. Our parents gave us an ironwood stick about six inches long that was tied to our wrists. We carried this to protect ourselves from the other children who did not belong for they asked us questions and made fun of us. If they came close we were told to hit them

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with the stick. Some girls laughed at me but when they came close I hit them and they went away. We were kept this way for a month. We did not have to do any work. When the month was over we washed our faces and were sober again.[219]

This initiation ceremony constitutes the principal ritual of the secret society. One of the interesting features of the organization among the Klallam is that unless there are novices for initiation there is no occasion for a performance. In other words, the only ritual the society has is the ritual for initiation. There are no pantomimic dances such as the Kwakiutl have, nor any dramatization of myths. Although the whole organization of the society is plainly related to that of the Kwakiutl and the other northern tribes, the Klallam seem to have only a bare skeleton of the elaborate ritual of these northern neighbors. Whereas among other groups as far south as the Quilleute and Makah there is more than one organization, the Klallam have only the xūnxanī'te. The Klallam at Beecher Bay had the secret society also. Some of their descendants who now live at Esquimalt have however been initiated in one of the Songish secret societies, the sia'wen. Collier states that this society did not exist among the Klallam of his time but they may have had it earlier. It seems that the Beecher Bay Klallam have adopted some features that are distinctive of Vancouver Island societies, such as composite masks and dog eating. Collier said that he remembers seeing composite masks used there when he was a small boy. Mrs. Davis relates that at one performance of the xūnxanī'te at Beecher Bay a man who had been held back by a blanket tied around his waist, broke loose and jumped into the water. He followed a dog swimming there and after killing it, bit large pieces of flesh out of it. She added that it looked as though he ate them but in reality he dropped them into the water.

As may have been gathered from the origin tales, the whole secret of this society is to hide the fact that it has no real power; that the whole organization was formed to hide a falsehood; in other words, there is no secret. Any member telling the origin tale to a non-member in the days when the organization was still in force would incur death. In the Jamestown group from whom I secured this information about the society there has been no initiation or performance of the society for over twenty-five years. Still it took two years of close acquaintance before I could get this material. Then when my informant had told me, he requested me urgently not to show my knowledge of it on the Canadian side where the ritual is still used and the society still functioning. The woman at Esquimalt, although she was initiated fifteen years ago, has since become a Shaker and therefore renounced her interest in the society. When she had given me the information she begged me not to tell anyone what I knew, especially not the Songish chief of the village for although they could no longer kill her for telling, they could "make it very hard for her".

In spite of the fact that all members knew that there was no real power

[219] A good account of an initiation is given by Curtis (IX, 112-115).

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in the society they always boasted of its strength before their non-member spectators. Before they began singing the songs of the society at a potlatch their leader would say that the xūnxanī'te had the greatest power on earth. They say the heavens rest on the xūnxanī'te, meaning thereby that it is higher than everything else.

During the entire week of the potlatch, members of the xūnxanī'te paint their faces black with charcoal. It is applied on a base of deer or elk tallow. The younger members cover the entire face but the older ones run streaks over the face by drawing the fingers across or downward. The headdress consists of two broad strips of cedar bark which are tied together at front and back and set firmly on the head. Feathers of eagle, swan or goose are stuck in the upper rim. During the dances, but not during the capture of the novices, masks are worn. The mask covering the face is carved of maple or cedar wood, being made by a member who could do it well. The face is that of a human and is painted red, white, and black in any combination. Some masks have holes along the top above the forehead in which feathers or hair are inserted.

The wolf's head is used only at Washington Harbor by members who are descendants of the wolves.[220] The head is carved of cedar and painted the darkest red possible, while the eyes are painted white. It is adjusted so that when the person wearing it crawls on the ground representing a wolf, the mouth will point forward. Some wolf heads have feathers on top but most of them do not. Both these masks are tied on with nettle twine.

The dress of the novice consists of a buckskin shirt that hangs to the knees. The shirt is smeared with red ochre. After the introduction of cloth by the whites, the shirt was made of red flannel. The novice wears a cedar bark head band like that of the full fledged members, but instead of the feather decoration, it has strips of red painted cedar bark, about one and one-half inches wide, hanging down the back. After the shirt was changed to flannel these strips were also made of red flannel.

The younger members of the society do most of the dancing. In the dances which are performed during the week the novices are secluded, the dancers faced forward holding hands with the ones before and behind and trotting forward. When the songs are sung to slow rhythm the dancers proceed very slowly with both hands at shoulder height and forefinger shaking violently. When dancing more rapidly, the women moved their arms, which are bent at the elbow, so that one is down and one up alternately. The foot movements are the same throughout, being a simple trot. Dancing is never done in unison; all dance to the same rhythm but the movements are, within the narrow range of those that are considered conventional, left to the caprice of the dancer. These same movements done more violently are also used by individual performers.

[220] See the Washington Harbor origin myth, p. 184. This statement is amusing considering that the use of the mask has probably come from the Nootka Wolf Ritual.

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RELIGIOUS LIFE

CONCEPT OF THE SUPERNATURAL

Since most of the older Klallam are now Shakers it is difficult to obtain any complete account of the older religion. As far as can be determined from the material now at hand the Klallam, like the majority of American tribes, had a fairly well developed guardian spirit concept but little in the way of superior deities whom everyone worshipped. As far as any evaluation of the various phases of life can now be obtained, it would seem that social rank and membership in the secret society were for the lay persons much more important than the acquisition of guardian spirits.

There is no feeling of reverence expressed toward Nokᵘī'mɛł, the transformer. In the mythology collected so far there is no myth explaining their religious concepts. There are a few stories dealing with the transformer, but they have no religious significance. The only deity to whom all the Klallam occasionally pray is Sɛqwa'tci, or the Earth, conceived as a woman. A woman in childbirth, as well as her female relatives who are assisting her, calls on Sɛqwa'tci to see how the woman is suffering and asks for relief. After the child is born, a prayer of thanks is offered to Sɛqwa'tci. In times of great stress, as in shipwreck or other disaster, the people call on Sɛqwa'tci for help. Otherwise she is never addressed and no offerings are made to her. However, a person who had a great power like the Thunder would pray to that spirit rather than to Sɛqwa'tci.

Eells in an early discussion of Klallam religion states that they formerly worshipped the sun and considered that either Nokᵘī'mɛł was the sun incarnate or that he lived in the sun. Furthermore he says that some believed Nokᵘī'mɛł to be a woman. It is quite possible that the Klallam were trying to explain to him the concept of Sɛqwa'tci, which may be translated as earth, sky, or dawn.

GUARDIAN SPIRITS

Much nearer the life of each individual is the guardian spirit. Each child is sent out about the time of puberty and even earlier to seek a vision and thus acquire a guardian spirit. Those who get the best spirits are orphans and others who have fared badly socially, for they will make the greatest effort. Such a view is probably a reflection of the folk tales. Through securing a powerful helper in this way, a person may improve his social status. But visions are by no means limited to this period of life nor do they come only when they are sought. Any unusual experience at any time may bring with it a vision.

Girls are sent out for guardian spirits before adolescence, for afterward spirits will not come near them. If they can stand the physical privations, they can get any spirit that a man might obtain. Children are sent out in the stormiest weather during the winter for then the spirits run about. If a child does not want to go he is whipped with a digging stick. When a boy receives a very

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strong power he cannot return home immediately. He lives outside by himself for a few months until he can control his power. During this time his parents bring him food. When a power is new and strong he can throw a person over by looking at him. If a boy acquires the Thunder spirit he has to live outside the village until he can secure a piece of clothing of a menstruating woman. With this he rubs himself to dull his power. A man with a powerful spirit takes great care to avoid his wife during her menstrual periods for any contact with her would weaken his power.

Occasionally a person is said to pretend to have spirit power. There was such a man a few generations ago. He tried to cure people but always failed. People began to laugh at him and say to one another that they were sure he had no power.

When a person returns from a spirit experience he does not tell of it immediately for if he does he could never put his power to use. Sometimes a man keeps an experience secret for year, though usually the acquisition of a new spirit was revealed at the next potlatch when the person sings his song for the first time. At a potlatch the people who had the same guardian spirit formed groups and sang their songs together. Although two people may have an experience with the same spirit they do not necessarily get the same song. The tunes may be alike but the words are always different. Otherwise there is no bond of union between them; in fact people in one village who possess the same guardian spirit usually are jealous of each other.

These guardian spirits come to the owners once a year, generally in December or January. When a person is visited by his guardian spirit he becomes ill, but not in a way that necessitates the calling of a shaman. Instead he gathers his friends so that they may help him sing. His friends, none of whom has the same guardian spirit, can only sing his songs if he starts them. They sing and beat time with sticks. When the guardian spirit is satisfied, it leaves the owner, who then becomes well again. During this singing, which lasts several days at least, the host feeds his guests and when they leave gives them each for their services a few blankets or some other gift commensurate with their social rank. Two months of the winter are occupied with such visitations. This is during the period of rest when there is a lull between the food gathering and storing season of the fall and the early runs of salmon in the spring. Not only did the guardian spirit singing come at this time but also the potlatches with their dances.

This custom is found on Puget Sound, among the Snohomish and Snuqualmi. There is little doubt that it is connected with the winter ceremonial of the Kwakiutl.

Among the Klallam there does not seem to be a rigid distinction between guardian spirits acquired by layman and guardian spirits of the shamanistic variety. The same spirit may be either a layman's or a shaman's spirit. It is not the kind of spirit but the manner in which it is acquired that determined whether it can be used for curing.

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The following guardian spirit experiences include only such as are definitely concerned with layman's spirits. Some of these spirits may be used in curing the sick. They are grouped here according to the powers they bestow. Of course practically all spirits are supposed to bestow wealth or some power by which wealth and prestige may be obtained. There are a few which simply give wealth. They are:

1. The sun beside possibly being the nearest approach to a central deity is also the powerful guardian spirit. A person who received power from the sun could not be overcome by any shaman. The sun is especially merciful to orphans and helps them acquire wealth. The chief at Washington Harbor and the chief of the Makah at Neah Bay had power from the sun which they showed by a design on their blankets.

2. Spider web. If any person looking for a spirit suddenly feels a spider web covering his face he will get everything he wants. This is one of the luckiest spirits.

3. Sītsqwayk, meaning "something from far out in the water." This spirit makes a man very wealthy. Xałkin of Washington Harbor who had it, gave eleven potlatches. In his vision he had been told to give only ten. Immediately after he gave the eleventh he died. Xałkin acquired wealth for potlatches by trading. He went to a potlatch at Beecher Bay and bought a canoe for a gun and a few dollars. He went back to the place where his people were staying and on the same day sold the canoe for cash. He repeated this several times. His spirit gave him this shrewdness.

4. Tsītsqwilul, "coming from the north," from the water. My informant's mother acquired this spirit when she was about forty years old. She was not looking for it when it came. She saw a white ship coming through the air and landing where they used to live. The people in the ship gave her clothing and all kinds of wealth. This spirit made her shrewd in trading. She had songs and a dance that were given to her when she saw the vision, but there was no paraphernalia belonging to it. In winter during the quiet season she felt this spirit.

Spirits which bring luck in hunting or fishing ultimately also give wealth, for the man who could give away plenty of fish or game received other things liberally in return. The Klallam like the Snohomish have a spirit that gives the power of killing game by pointing at it.

Another hunting spirit is sqwaq!s. It helped duck, elk, and deer hunters. It helped women in fishing and digging clams. When people with this spirit began to sing at a gathering everyone danced. While dancing, when they wanted the people to join them, they would go three or four steps to the right and the same to the left. For all other songs, people who did not have the spirit just helped by beating time and singing, but they never danced.

The herring spirit helped in hunting. My informant saw it but he did not want it. He had been told what to do if he did not want it, but he was not told whether or not to take it. He found this herring in a rotten log in the

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woods. He went over, seized it, and put it behind the log. Then he backed away from it. He stood still a while and then walked over to see if it was still there. It was gone. He backed away again and then turned and walked away. If he had seen it and stepped back he would have fallen dead. Later he dreamed about it. The herring spoke in Klallam, saying, "You were a coward. You could have been a powerful man, had you taken me." When the herring appeared it was as a person wearing a cedar bark apron and feathers in his hair, with his face painted red and black. The word for herring is slōnst, but whether that is the name of the spirit, my informant did not know.

Still more powerful in hunting was the wolf spirit. A boy is told that if he heard people talking to go toward them, for the wolves talk in the woods like human beings. The wolves say, "Are you brave?" The boy should answer, "I would not be here if I were not brave." The wolves then ask, "Can you stand anything we do to you?" When they ask the boy what he wanted he should answer that he is looking for them. The wolves then strip the boy and cut his joints so he will be limber and can run faster than anyone. When the boy gets home and sleeps, his songs come to him. The wolves can give the best hunting power for any land animal. This spirit is called statcum.

The sīama'n'us spirit could make plenty of fish come to a certain place. This spirit is like the sgudeletc of the tribes of the eastern Sound, which helped people find lost objects. The owner of the spirit always had two boards, whose shape and design depended largely on the nature of his vision. The boards were generally oval, about two feet long with holes on the long sides through which they were held. Some were shaped like dogfish or like tyee salmon. These boards were often found in hollow trees by people who were hunting.

When the man who possessed the spirit began singing this song, some young men would hold his boards for him. When the boards began moving the men had to move with them. There was a man at Port Discovery two generations ago who said that the boards could not make him move. So the owner of the spirit began singing and called on this man to take the boards. Soon the boards began to move and take the man around the room. The boards became more and more lively until the man fell down, when they dragged him out of the house and into the water. He was drowned.

Another informant gave an account of a sīamō'ōs spirit which is a halibut. This spirit has a cedar board that becomes animated. Whoever gets this power can make fish come near the shore where he lives. When he goes to the water to bathe he rubs his body with his hands. When he is through rubbing, he puts both hands in the water and splashes the water toward the shore. The people would see the fish on the shore and pick them up. As long as a person has this power his whole village can get fish very easily.

Once while the Klallam were up Hood Canal there were two young men with them who were searching for guardian spirits. Each one tried to get ahead of the other. Finally one of them met the halibut, sīamō'ōs. It sounded

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like a halibut flopping in a canoe. He had been told to run and seize the thing when he heard a noise like that, for in this way he would get the power. After seizing it he fell unconscious and was given the song to which the cedar boards moved.

These two accounts are so much alike that it may be supposed that the spirits referred to are identical.

Another kind of spirit gave plenty of food. This was the pelican spirit, tsai'ak. The informant's grandmother received this while she was returning in her canoe from a visit. The bird lit on her canoe. She started singing as soon as she saw the bird. Then he flew away. Many years later during a storm she lost the things she received with this spirit (the informant did not know what they were) so she never sang her song again.

In addition to these spirits which helped secure food there were other spirits that had the power of prophecy or the power of sight at long distances or the power of acquiring many wives; and some just gave a dance which was performed at potlatches and other gatherings.

Sq!weyeic: there was a woman among the Klallam long ago who had this spirit which made her sing and dance. While she danced she foretold that some day white people would come. Another woman who had the same spirit foretold that these white people would bring birds like partridges which would be tame and would live just outside the house. There would also be large animals that were tame so that the people would no longer go out hunting but would kill these animals for food.

Aia'ñl: this spirit gave the power of seeing at great distances. The person who possessed the power had a hole in the palm of one hand. He looked through this to see things far away. If a person was lost he could tell in which direction the search party should go. To get this power a person saw a vision with a woman.

This is the only spirit that my informant ever saw. He had been told to go out searching because all his ancestors had had great spirits. He had dreamt of others but had never seen them. When he was about thirteen years old, he was duck hunting on the sand spit opposite Washington Harbor. It was late afternoon and the sun was setting red. There is a tidal pool at the end of the spit where ducks often gather. He crawled to the edge of the pond. There were no ducks there but he saw a woman walk away into the bushes. He followed her for he thought she was one of his people who had come to dig clams. It was strange however that he saw no canoe waiting for her. He looked around in the wild gooseberry bushes and then started home. When he had gone about fifty yards he felt as though some one were going to seize him. He turned quickly with his gun ready, but saw nobody. When he got over this feeling he walked away, only to have it come again. It continued until he reached his canoe. When he reached home he could not eat his evening meal. He retired with his family but before the fire went out the same woman came through the door without any noise of its opening and shutting. She stood on

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the opposite side of the fire and looked at him. He called to his uncle to drive her away, for he did not like her. His uncle asked, "Where is the woman?" He said, "She is standing on the other side of the fire. Don't you see her?" His uncle insisted that he could not find her. For many nights she came in this same way. He never liked to see her come and always asked his people to put her out. His people begged him not to be afraid of her, but to become friendly. They told him that she would give him the power to see far off and find missing things. Still he did not want her, for her appearance was so terrible. She was very dark with a purple forehead and large round eyes, without corners like ours. Her eyelashes were white. This especially made her look so terrible. At last she came no more. If he had done as the old people wanted him, he would have had this power.

To have many wives meant of necessity the possession of considerable wealth so a spirit that bestowed this power at the same time gave the power of gaining wealth. Cīe'mtst, the paternal great grandfather of my informant at Esquimalt, obtained such a spirit. He belonged to a high family and early in life married a good industrious woman. She rose early to work on mats but Cīe'mtst slept until his mother in anger pulled the mountain goat wool blankets away from him. His wife, ashamed of his nakedness, put them on him again. When the sun was setting behind the mountains he got up and went out to bathe and run. He ran toward tsloqᵘ, a place near Port Townsend where there was a passage for canoes through the sand spit. As he ran he heard a noise but he did not stop. Soon a skate ran toward the water and jumped in at tsloqᵘ. The young man jumped in after it. He went through the smoke hole of a house under the water. The house was full of people. One man came to him asking, "What did you come here for?" The young man answered, "I want to be a rich, high man." The owner of the house said, "All right. Did you see the skate that was running down to the water? He is the door of the sun's house. The sun was setting; that is why he came down the prairie." The owner of the house gave four ducks to the young man. The four ducks would become eighty wives. The young man took the ducks. He was also given a spear to kill whales. Then they sent him away.

As soon as he was outside the door he found his body dead in the water. Only his life had gone into the house. He saw that the water was full of blood that he had vomited. He climbed up the stones near the shore but he did not go far before he fainted. When he became conscious he crawled home like a baby, for he was too weak to stand. When he reached home his mother cried when she saw him, for blood was streaming from his mouth. She thought he was going to die so she called the shamans. They came and prepared to sing to find out what had happened to the young man. One of the doctors said that the young man suffered because he had gotten a great power, but in five days he would be well. In five days he got his song. He got up and danced, for he was getting strong. Then he went out and killed a whale with his new spear. He became a strong and rich man. He did not have to go to

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ask for women to marry, but parents would bring their daughters to him. He got the eighty wives he had been promised. He got them because of this great power.

Qxowqs was a spirit which gave control over the weather. Some Klallam had gone to Victoria for a potlatch. When they were ready to return they were delayed for ten days because it was blowing all the time. Finally their leader called on this spirit which he possessed and it became calm.

There are a few spirits in connection with which only the dances are remembered. It is possible that there were no other powers. The most impressive are the Crow and Raven spirits. One man who had the Crow spirit could light on anyone's shoulder while dancing and his weight will not be felt. Another possessor of the Crow spirit would flap his blanket and hop from one stick to another of the salmon drying racks. While he performed he cried, "Ka-ka." He was a powerful shaman, but this spirit did not give him his shamanistic power. Another man with the Raven spirit hopped on one leg when he danced. This spirit is almost a doctor's spirit.

Finally, there are the spirits that were powerful in war. The wolf spirit helped in war almost as much as in hunting. A man with this power could creep in and kill and then run away. But most powerful in war was the Thunder spirit. This was one of the hardest spirits to obtain and also the strongest. One informant called it the tcē'neqwa. It can kill not only in war but can be "shot" into any person. No shaman can take this out. Another informant called it nuxsqwawī'aka, the thunder that comes from above. This spirit made a person a good warrior. If a woman obtains it, she becomes brave and accompanies war parties. Others can also join war parties but they must be brave without the help of any power. When a war party starts out, all those who possess the Thunder power sing their songs. The thunder and lightning answer; then they know that they will be successful.

This, I am certain, is far from a complete list of spirits known to the Klallam, but it is all I have been able to secure before this writing. They say the Shaker religion drove the spirits out of the people. This is really very true, for those who are staunch Shakers cannot even be persuaded to talk about them. Although a rich religious life is not to be expected of these people, I nevertheless feel that there is much which has been either totally forgotten or so deeply buried in their minds that it is almost impossible to reach.

SOULS AND GHOSTS

Each person has but one soul (sīyi') which looks like a miniature of its owner, being about four inches tall. When a person's health is failing, his soul has left him. If action is taken immediately, that is by a shamanistic performance (q.v.), the soul may be recovered. Otherwise, it goes directly to the land of the dead. After death the soul would try to linger about the dwelling of its owner so that shamans are always engaged at funerals to watch that the soul does not take anyone else's soul along with it.

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They say that owls are the ghosts. A woman's ghost says "Kū, kū, kū." On account of this belief owls are never killed.

People sometimes see ghosts. A couple out looking for wood very early in the morning saw a group of ghosts, among them that of a person who had died but recently.

On inquiring about reincarnation the following tale was told. In a certain family a child was born shortly after an older member died. The child was born with its ears pierced exactly as the ears of this man who had recently died had been pierced. Such tales are so widely known that their mere recital does not convince one that the Klallam really believed in reincarnation.

THE LAND OF THE DEAD

When a person becomes ill, his soul leaves him and goes to the land of the dead (sna"anūkł). If a shaman can capture the soul and restore it to its owner, the person recovers. If, however, the soul has gone too far it stays in the land of the dead and becomes a ghost (snō'enuk). The land of the dead is under this world and resembles the land of the living in most respects. The seasons of the year and day and night are the opposite of what they are on earth. The ghosts live just as human beings do. A person has the same disposition after death that he had on earth. The ghosts are happy in their life there. Any idea of retribution is unknown. There is just one place where everyone goes, including any stranger that might die in a Klallam village.[221]

The ghost always lingers around the house for a few days before departing to the land of the dead. For this reason some food is burned about two days after the funeral. The ghosts come and feast. Only shamans can see them and they are hired to watch that these ghosts do not capture any souls belonging to the living.

SHAMANISM

The shaman of the Klallam seems to be a person who receives his powers in solitude and practices them single-handed. There is seldom a conclave of shamans gathered over a case of illness. There seems to be no bond between those in one village who are practicing shamans. Although there are always several who were known as shamans, still there are many laymen who have just a little medicine power. There does not seem to be the rigid distinction between the spirits of the shaman and laymen that for instance the Snohomish and Snuqualmi draw. Here it is not the kind of spirit that makes the shaman, it is rather the kind of vision he has and how he utilizes it that decides his status. A shaman is never satisfied with one power as most laymen are. He seldom presumes to practice until he has acquired at least several spirits. He may also, beside his shamanistic powers, have some skēhip or dance spirits which he uses at social gatherings.

[221] Snohomish have a separate land of the dead for each tribe, believing that a stranger who dies in their midst will go to his own spirit world and not to that of the Snohomish (Haeberlin-Gunther, 71).

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The shaman is not an important figure socially, that is, compared to the chief and his family. A shaman is always respected and feared. If he is at all successful in his practice he will become wealthy and thus gain prominence, but his social standing will be due to his wealth rather than to his profession. The name of a successful shaman is always known to neighboring tribes. This is also a sign of social prestige for only the names of important men are known outside the village.

The functions of the shaman are limited to dealing with illness. He has no part in the rituals of the secret society except as he may be a member just as any individual of good social standing. He is not consulted in matters of fishing or hunting, nor the waging of war. He could be hired to kill as well as cure, but he killed just as a layman does, at the risk of his own life. At the head of Washington Harbor was a doctor who used his power to kill other people's children. Two of his relatives killed him with the approval of everybody. Another old shaman on Hood Canal was so powerful that the people killed him. If he wanted to marry a girl and her parents refused, they would find her dead in a few days. If a patient died and his relatives believed that the shaman did not exert the best of his ability to save him they might kill him and his family had no redress. My informant's father was known as a powerful shaman. He was often called to Skokomish and Mud Bay where he had relatives, to cure the sick. The shamans there grew jealous of him so they shot their power into him but could not overcome him. Finally, they killed him by poisoning his liquor.

Since there are no living shamans, it was difficult to obtain any information about the training for shamanistic power. A boy seems to have gone out for visions just as he would for lay spirits, only he stayed at it much longer and had more intense experiences. When a person has once secured a few shamanistic spirits others may be willed to him by an old shaman before death. One informant told me that an old shaman wanted to give him some spirits, but he knew they would not have come to him for he had lived carelessly when he was young, especially in his relations with women. A shaman would not try his powers before an audience until he was fairly sure of himself, for to try and fail was considered most ignominious.

In dealing with disease, the shaman's procedure is controlled by the two theories of disease held by the Klallam: the conception of soul capture and that of intrusion. According to Lowie these two theories are held at the same time by the Northern Athabaskans, the Coast Salish of Puget Sound, the northern coastal tribes of British Columbia and the Eskimo, with a sporadic example in the Southwest among the Cochiti. Lowie concludes that the conception of soul loss is a relatively late borrowing from Siberia and in the localities mentioned has flourished side by side with the basic American concept of disease, that of intrusion, while in some places where it is the only theory of disease, it has displaced completely the older beliefs.[222]

The theory of soul capture underlies the most spectacular of the shamanistic performances of the Klallam as well as the majority of Puget Sound

[222] Lowie, *Primitive Religion*, 176-181.

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tribes. In this performance, one or several shamans go to the land of the dead to recover a soul which has either wandered there of its own accord or has been stolen by the ghosts. The Klallam have this ceremony, called by them sme'tnaq, but it was impossible to find someone who had witnessed it late enough in life so that he could render an adequate account. It was, however, possible to get a fairly good account of a similar ceremony performed by only one shaman.[223]

This theory of soul capture with its attendant shamanistic activities is also found among the Chinook, these being perhaps the southernmost of the Pacific coast people who have the concept.[224]

There were some women shamans, but very few in proportion to men, and they never attained the powers held by the men. Xatsxanem was a woman shaman at Washington Harbor but she did not have much power. Another was a half Klallam, half Twana woman. She had two poles that were carved with her spirits and ornamented with deer hoof rattles. When she started to shake and tremble somebody brought these poles out and held them for her. If a person did not believe in them, they would chase him out of the house. It seems to be a power like the sgudēlētc or sīama'n'us. Precisely what her power was and what she could do with it, nobody remembers. At her death the poles were burned.

Shamans showed their power by curing the sick when called upon to do so, by finding things that are lost, by recovering souls that have wandered away, and finally by simply displaying their power in contests. The cure of the sick was by far the most important part of their work.

Shamans have their specialties and if they know that they cannot cure a case they do not accept the call. People knowing the specialty of a medicine man will call him only for the kind of cure for which he has a reputation. A shaman will never come to a sick person until he is called by a relative. A rich family may call as many as three or four medicine men to cure the illness of one of their number, but these shamans work independently of one another. There is nothing here similar to a curing society like the Tsaiak of the Nootka, Makah or Quilleute.

In curing, a shaman never danced, but knelt beside the sick person singing and rubbing or sucking the sore spots of his body. This applied, of course, only to actual physical illness. When an evil spirit had been "shot" into a person the procedure was different. A few concrete examples of cures will describe the procedure more adequately.

When Tom was about fourteen years old he cut a ligament in his knee with a butcher knife. The knee was swollen and stiff so that the boy could not walk for eleven months. After two years on crutches his grandmother took him to Hood Canal to Crow, a shaman. Crow felt the knee and said he could suck the bad matter out of it. He started sucking on it and Tom fainted. He

[223] See snaianok below.
[224] Boas, (c), 39.

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tried it five times; then he cut a little hole in the skin and sucked out lumps of bad matter. After six months Tom could walk. The shaman received ten dollars for his services.

My informant's uncle, Dr. Bill, had the power of sucking afflicted parts of the body. When my informant was about twelve years old he was working for a white man. He fainted and they took him home. Dr. Bill tried to suck at his heart but the boy pushed his face away. Then the shaman put his hands on the boy's ribs and pushed forward the middle of his body. The boy could feel the sickness being pulled out. Dr. Bill had it in his hands. He told the boy's mother to get a flat stone from the river. Dr. Bill let them all see the sickness. It looked like a little flounder about one inch long. Then he let it go out of his hands into this flat stone. It split the stone in two. Dr. Bill took the sickness back again and wrapping it in a piece of shredded cedar bark, chewed on it. When he had chewed it a long time he put it in the fire. So it was killed and never came back. After that the boy had no more trouble.[225]

Another method of curing illness was for the shaman to take water in his hands, blow on it and then throw it on the afflicted part. The same man whose knee was cured cut a blood vessel in his foot on a broken bottle while playing on the beach during his childhood. It bled very much. Some white people cinched the leg to stop the flow of blood. Skokomish John, a shaman, had just come in from fishing, so Tom's grandmother called him. He removed the bandage. Then he took some cold water in his hands and blew on it. He kept changing the water in his hands, still blowing on it. Then he threw some water on Tom's foot. It felt as though something had burst. Tom screamed; then he looked at his foot and there was no sign of blood. The shaman tied a piece of yarn loosely around the foot and the boy's mother bandaged it. It healed quickly.

Finding missing objects and persons can be done by a shaman as well as by a person with the aiañl dance spirit. Dr. Bill also had this power. A dog was his spirit for this. Once he was at Victoria when a child was lost at Beecher Bay. They called him to help find it. When he reached the house he sat on the floor beside a bowl of water. All the people sat on the benches with boards on their laps and small sticks to beat time. A drummer led them. Dr. Bill started to sing, calling on his dog spirit for help. When shamans are under the power they can see visions. He saw what had happened to the child. He told the people that a man had gone away with it, so they all started out to follow where his spirit led him. When he reached a certain spot he told the people to look around. They found a small basket of sallalberries that belonged to the child. They went on until they reached a yew tree, a short one with heavy branches at the top. Here his spirit stopped him again and the people searched. They found the child dead among the heavy branches of the tree. They took the body home. Dr. Bill saw in his vision the man

[225] The same story is related in Curtis, IX, 107.

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who had killed the child. Years later this man disappeared so they believe that the child's uncle killed him while up the river.

There was a Klallam woman out at Neah Bay who had the sxʷank spirit which helped her find lost objects. While she was there a schooner was lost at sea. She asked for some clothing belonging to the men on the boat. She rubbed her hands on it and then passed her hands, palms outward, before her face. Her hands stopped just before her face and she asked for more clothing. She rubbed her hands on it again and then said that the man whose clothing she touched last was not with the others. When the boat finally came back it was found that he was the only one who was drowned. The nearest translation for sxʷank is clairvoyance.

Shamans used their power to kill as well as to cure. Skokomish John wanted to borrow some money from a man so he sent his wife to ask for it. The man put her out of the house. This angered Skokomish John so that he revenged himself by putting his spirit into this man's seven year old son. The boy saw a seal wriggling into the bushes. He told his parents. That night he became sick and died. The seal was one of Skokomish John's spirits. This happened about forty years ago.

When an evil spirit has been "shot" into a person, a shaman stronger than the one who put it in can often remove it. He can also tell who had done injury to the patient. Once a woman was very ill. For days she had been spitting blood. They called a shaman who at once took an evil spirit out of her. He burned it in the fire and a blue smoke arose, as from the burning of oil. Then he shot the spirit with a gun. He shot right into the fire and killed it. The woman recovered. The shaman said that in a few days the man who had put the spirit into her would die just as he had killed the spirit. Several days later a shaman in Chehalis quarreled with a man who shot him right by the fire. The shaman fell into the fire and burned to death.

There were a few shamans who could control the weather. One of them, a half Klallam, half Songish, received his power while he was hunting in the hills back of the Klallam country where a mountain lion followed him. The animal was so close he could almost feel its breath. The man ran through underbrush and tangle to get away from the animal but it pursued him until he came out at the beach near Blyn. On the beach he fell down from exhaustion and slept. He received a great power in this way. It had been the thunder that was following him. Later, whenever he sang his songs at a gathering the people could hear the thunder. Long after, the man lived at Esquimalt. It had been a very dry season. Some of the white people heard that he could make it rain and asked him to show his power. He started singing and soon it was thundering and raining. It came so quickly that the people who had come to ask were still there when it commenced raining. On another occasion this man was in a gathering of Indians one winter when it was snowing hard. After several days he said he would stop it. He stood on a box and started singing. He told the people to go out and watch. The clouds began to disappear.

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The most spectacular performance of a Klallam shaman was his journey to the land of the dead for a lost soul. There were only a few shamans who could do it. Witsakx^{u} from Port Discovery was one. He was called sna'enukqītc, or having power for sna"anūkł, the land of the dead.

It is believed that every evening the ghosts come from the land of the dead in order to steal souls. If a person is sickly and weak all the time, it is certain that his soul is lost. If his people can afford it they call a shaman who has this power to go to the land of the dead and recover this soul. Sometimes a whole village engages such a shaman to go to the land of the dead in order to see if anyone from the village had lost his soul.

At one time my informant's step-father, who was also a shaman, hired Witsakx^{u} to go to the land of the dead for him and his step-daughter, for they were both ill. Witsakx^{u} had a different song from all the other shamans. He commenced singing it as he traveled toward the land of the dead. When he came near it he stopped singing. He crawled around on the floor and spoke a different language. He acted as though he were crazy. This was done while he was searching for the lost soul. When he came near it, he seized it, stood up, and started to run with it. When the ghosts began to chase him his power carried the soul he was taking away while Witsakx^{u} picked up sticks to throw at his pursuers. The shaman was blind but when he was possessed of his power in this way he could find small sticks on the ground without any fumbling. When he picked up a large stick somebody who sat near him who was strong enough would wrest it from him, because when he was possessed in this manner he might harm the audience. After he had fought his way through the land of the dead, he would become sober. Then he told the people that he had gotten the lost soul. He washed the soul in warm water before he restored it to its owner.

When he was hired to work for a whole village he started singing in the same way. Just before he reached the land of the dead he went around the house asking each person his name. When a person whispered his name, he would say, "You are going along with me." He started singing again, going to the land of the dead. When he recovered the lost souls he would take the hand of the first soul and all the other souls followed, clasping hands. As soon as he came among real people again, he began putting the souls back into their owners. He held the soul in his cupped hands and set it on the head of the person. When he had so many, he did not wash them. He was paid about thirty dollars for a performance like this, or one blanket and a canoe.

When Witsakx^{u} performed he painted his face white instead of red as other shamans do, and his hair was roughed so that it stood out all over his head. This made him look terrible so that the ghosts would be afraid of him.

Another shaman had the power of handling souls, but he could not go to the land of the dead as Witsakx^{u} did. This was my informant's paternal grandfather. When the soul of a sick person was leaving him, this man could see the soul in the air above the patient. With his power he drew it back into the palm of his hand, a miniature of its owner about four inches tall. The

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shaman then bathed it while it was in his hands; then he cupped his hands and the soul would disappear, going back into its owner.

This shaman received his power from a large variety of mosquito. There is a point just back of Port Townsend with a pond on it. When the mosquitos rose from this pond it was just like fog. The people were afraid of them because they were so large. This man, when he was looking for power, saw them rising from the pond one day, so he took off his clothes and walked right among them. The mosquitos sucked his blood until he fell unconscious. He found himself in the mosquitos' house and there they were real people. They gave him the instrument they use for sucking blood.[226]

My informant's father had a spirit experience which gave him shamanistic power. When he was about fourteen years old he acted as canoeman for some timber cruisers. They camped at Skagit Head on Whidby Island and leaving him with the canoe went about their work. While he sat alone on the beach a person with deer hoofs rattling on his forehead came to him. Even when the person stood still he could hear the hoofs rattling. While he was still wondering who this could be, he fell unconscious. When the men returned they found him on the beach bleeding at the mouth and nose. They thought that he had been beaten. He could not talk to them. They put him in the canoe and brought him back to Port Discovery. The shamans at Port Discovery could not help him, so they sent a fast canoe to Port Angeles to get a shaman who was the boy's uncle. When he came the people were all ready with drums and sticks to help him by beating time. The old man sat down near the patient and began singing. Soon he stopped and laughed just a little. He thanked all the people and told them that this was no sickness, for he saw a spirit standing beside the patient. He said the boy must have met this spirit somewhere and that it was causing his weakness. He told them that he would put the spirit into the boy so that he would have a great power. Just as soon as he took the power and put it in the boy's body, the latter began to sing. He rose and danced around the house. When he used this power he danced with deer hoof rattles and painted red.

Soon after this happened there was a great potlatch at Dungeness. The secret society was initiating, and while they were dressing the novices for the last dance, the shamans showed their powers. They would take out whatever power they had and let it on the ground or into the water. A snake, a bird, or a devil fish were all alive there for the people to see. This time they said they wanted to test each other by pulling a limb out of a green tree without breaking it. There was a windfallen tree still green near them, so they wanted to try on this. None of them could do so. My informant's father had not yet shown that he had any power, but his uncle knew about it. The boy sat away from the shamans, whittling on a stick. His uncle called to him, "I know you have a power. I want you to test it." The boy refused to come, but after his uncle had called him many times, he went. He knelt down beside the tree. He took out his power and let it into the tree. Then he took hold of

[226] The same narrative is told in Curtis, IX, 106.

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the limb and slowly pulled it out. From that time on they knew that he had a shaman's power so he was called on to heal the sick. In this way he started practising while he was still very young.

In addition to the medicine practiced by the shaman, the Klallam, as is perhaps true of every people, had a body of practical medicine, which consists of household remedies and cures known only to certain old women, the knowledge of which was carefully guarded by its possessors. Even today, some old women refuse to give this information, saying that they had paid too much for it.

The practical medicine consists principally of treatments for skin troubles, of which there seem to have been an infinite variety, tonics to strengthen various parts of the body, and medicines used at childbirth. These treatments deal generally with such ailments that are not subject to cure by a shaman. At childbirth, a shaman is called only if there is unusual difficulty. The various skin diseases are never treated by a medicine man, neither are broken limbs. If the tonics are not effective in cases of vague pains in some part of the body, then a shaman may be called to look for an intrusive object or to see whether the patient's soul has been taken away.

Of skin diseases, the most prevalent seem to have been scrofula, boils and carbuncles. Scrofula is described as a red rash that itched. They were fully aware of its contagiousness, yet made very little effort to avoid it. My informant states that her father in gambling won a shirt from a man known to have scrofula. Still he wore the shirt without even washing it. He contracted the disease and had it for several years. Finally, while he was visiting on Vancouver Island, he was cured of it. One cure for scrofula is to soak the grey moss (q!a'tcī), which is found on the trees in any thick growth of timber, in water overnight and wash the sores with this liquid. It has an astringent effect. In addition to this, any wash used on skin sores will help scrofula.

Sores, cuts, and burns are treated generally by chewing the medicinal plant and then spitting it on the afflicted part. The steminate ament of the alder (Alnus oregona)[227] is chewed and spit on sores; the pistolate cones of cedar (Thuja plicata) is used in the same manner, but not as commonly as alder, because it is very strong. The cones are called xtcatciltcats. Dr. T. C. Frye said that since there is an oil in the cedar, such treatment may really be effective. The leaves of yarrow (Achillea millefolium L.) are also chewed and spit on sores as well. Sores are often treated by being washed with a liquid in which leaves, bark or roots have been soaked. The roots of the edible thistle (Carduus edulis) are chopped, washed and soaked in water. They do not have to soak any length of time but can be used at once. The thistle is called ai'yōtsēłyitc. This is the flat thistle, the tall variety formerly not growing in this region.[228] The roots of skunk cabbage (tcō'que) were

[227] Wherever a botanical name is given the specimen has been identified by Dr. T. C. Frye.

[228] This statement was substantiated by Dr. Frye.

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scraped and put on sores. The berry of the snowberry (Symphoricarpus racemosus Michx.) was mashed and applied to cuts. It has an astringent effect. The Klallam call it p!atciltc.

To boils and carbuncles any of the treatments mentioned above could be applied. In addition to these carbuncles were often treated with the new leaves of skunk cabbage.[229] The leaves were held near the fire and rubbed in the hands until they became like silk. Then they were laid on the carbuncle. It was never mentioned that boils or carbuncles were lanced, but no specific inquiry was made.

A wounded person is often laid in the salt water so that his wounds may open and the blood flow out. Wounds made by an arrow or a bullet are washed with water in which the limbs of the squaw plum tree (Osmaronia cerasiformis) have been twisted.

Broken limbs are often tied between two sticks for splints and wrapped with cedar bark. Although the general consensus of opinion is that a shaman never treated broken limbs, one informant stated that after the limb had been set and wrapped a shaman would sometimes help by singing over it. A very deep cut is closed by rubbing fir pitch on it.

Cautery, which Eells mentions especially for rheumatism, is used for headache and pain in any part of the body.[230] This rather realistic example will illustrate its use.

An old woman had such headaches that her eyes turned white. She made a little roll of shredded cedar bark and lit it at one end. She held this end to her scalp and let it burn through to the bone. She felt as though a bullet had struck her head and she never had headaches again.

For consumption a decoction is made by boiling the grey moss mentioned before. Also the inner bark of the wild cherry (Prunus emarginata) is scraped, soaked in water and the liquid drunk.[231] The cherry is called s'qot!señ.

At childbirth the inner bark of the squaw plum is scraped into water and given to the mother "to drive the blood out." Dr. Frye said that such a drink would induce strong muscular action in the abdomen.

Sore eyes were very common in the old days. One cure was to scrape the inner bark of the wild gooseberry bush (Ribies lobbii) and rinse it in water. This was mixed with some milk from a woman's breast and applied to the eyes. The Klallam call this gooseberry bush t!amanwexitcł.

There are several tonics that were used for strengthening weak parts of the body, purifying the blood, or for general debility. The pistolate ament of alder is chewed to help the lungs and stomach. Eells also mentions its use for colds and biliousness, saying that frequently they drink salt water after eating it as an emetic.[232] If a person has sufficient courage he chews them green. At this time they are as strong as vinegar. They are called tc!udcun.

[229] Eells, (a), 618.
[230] Eells, (a), 623.
[231] *Ibid.*, 617.
[232] Eells, (a), 623.

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The inner bark of the alder is scraped and soaked in water until the liquid is red. This is drunk in the spring (it is best in May) to purify the blood. It is very bitter. The leaves of the madrona tree ($^{k^o}$qwexiltc) are boiled ten minutes in water, making a milky syrup. This is beneficial for the throat. The scraped bark and leaves of the maple tree (tsklaltc) soaked in water make a good general tonic.

Wild rose haws are eaten late in the summer to give a good breath. Eells mentions that the roots and leaves were also used medicinally.[233]

When the whole body is stiff and sore, the stalk of nettles (Urtica lyallii) is soaked in water and the body then rubbed with it. The nettle is called ts !tcexalts.

Eells mentions the following plants as used for medicinal purposes which are not listed above: bark of barberry as a blood purifier, roots of blackberry for colds, buds of cottonwood and crabapple tree bark for eye wash, elderberry bark infusion for diarrhoea, ironwood bark, laurel leaves, licorice root for colds, spruce leaves, cedar gum chewed for toothache.[234]

When a person, man or woman, does not feel well and wants to cleanse the body thoroughly, the sweat bath is used. A lodge is built in the woods of white fir limbs with the leaves on. The branches are bent and the ends stuck in the ground. It is built just large enough for one person. The branches are covered with boughs and mats. Inside the lodge are boards for the person to lie on. My informant could not remember whether the fire was inside or out, but it doubtless was outside, for the lodge was too small for a fire. It was stated that shamans used it more than ordinary people.[235]

[233] *Ibid.*, 617, 624.
[234] *Ibid.*, 617, 618, 623.
[235] Eells states that the only ones he saw were used by medicine men and that their use was very uncommon. His description agrees essentially with the one above (Eells, (a), 624).

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THE POTLATCH AND SPIRIT SINGING

When the Klallam return to their villages after the fishing season on Hood Canal the "quiet" month begins. This is the period (tcuñkwēnū'tsen) of individual guardian spirit rites. A man's guardian spirit comes to him, making him sick in a ceremonial way. A shaman is never called to cure him at this time, but instead, he invites his friends to come and help sing his spirit songs.

If, at some time during the year a person had a new guardian spirit experience, and his family can afford it, they invite a large number of guests to hear him sing his new songs, help him dance and then enjoy a potlatch, a feast and distribution of presents. A new spirit power is however not necessary for this because every strong spirit comes back at this time of the year. During this period when a person is visited by his guardian spirit he may continue his regular duties about the house but he sings all the time. Sometimes a man sings so much that he loses his voice. Everyday in the afternoon or evening his friends gather in his house to sing, dance and help by beating time. In return for this they are feasted and when the persons recovers, receive gifts for their services.

While these guardian spirits rites are going on there may also be a potlatch held in the village. If a wealthy man invited people from outside the village to sing with him he will surely follow this with a potlatch. A potlatch which is accompanied either with spirit singing or with a performance of the secret society is called l!a"anuk. This can take place either during the quiet period or in the summer when the secret society ritual is held. At any of these potlatches there could be another performance of guardian spirit songs, in fact this is looked upon as one of the principal sources of entertainment. If a man's wife or his son dances and sings during an evening's entertainment he will make gifts to all the men of the upper class who are present. This is to thank them for the honor they do his family by watching the performance. It is not expected that such gifts will be returned with interest. They are merely given to create good feeling and to display an individual's wealth.

A visiting group will always arrange to arrive at the potlatch village preferably before noon or at least early in the afternoon. It is regarded very poor management for them to appear after dark. If necessary, they will camp the night before a few miles away from their destination. When they come within sight of the village two canoes are tied together and planks laid over them. On these young men, especially painted and dressed for the occasion, sing and dance. As soon as they have finished, a speaker comes to the bow of the canoe and calls the names of rich men of the village to whom the parents of these boys give gifts. Each man comes forward on the beach and receives his present. When the canoes reach the shore they are received by the men of the village who help beach them and lead the guests to their lodgings. As many guests as possible are lodged in the potlatch house. When there is no more space available there, they are distributed among the other houses of the

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upper class. There is no assignment of lodgings according to the rank of the guests. This applies both to the locations within the potlatch house and whether or not a family is assigned to the potlatch house. If the visitors have any relatives in the village they are by preference accommodated in their relative's house. The hosts then unload the guests' canoes and tying up the paddles put them in a corner of the house they are to occupy. Tying up the paddles is a symbol that the hosts wish them to make their visit a long one.

A meal is immediately served whether it is mealtime or not. The first evening of a potlatch period is always the occasion of a very elaborate meal, the quantity of food set before the guests being the criterion.

During the potlatch, which generally lasts a week, there are two big meals each day, with constant eating going on as the guests visit from house to house. At the principal meals the owner of the house is responsible for the guests lodged with him, unless some person in the village is providing a feast for the entire gathering. This is frequently done, especially by relatives of the man who is giving the potlatch. The days are spent in visiting, feasting, and trading among the hosts and guests. In the daytime athletic contests, such as shinny, tugs of war and ball games are played by the younger men, while in the evening gambling games are begun that frequently last through to the following day.

There are never any shamanistic performances at these gatherings. If the potlatch is held in the summer, most of the evenings and the last day are taken up with the initiation rites of the secret society.

On the last day the actual giving of presents occurs. Every village has a man who acts as speaker (suxqwa'qwa or łlqwō'a). These titles mean holding up the people. He travels with the chief and acts as herald for him, shouting his speeches to the people. He knows all the inherited songs in the principal families so that at any public affair he knows what should be sung. This speaker accompanies the host to the roof of the potlatch house and calls out the guests who are to receive gifts. The Klallam always call out each individual and do not give to the visiting chief an amount to be distributed among his people. The men of the upper class who are rich receive many blankets (later guns and money) while a poor person is content with just a few blankets or a few dollars. To provide amusement, articles are also thrown from the roof to the crowd standing on the beach. The men then scramble for them. Blankets are torn in strips and thrown down in this way. These strips are unraveled by the women and the yarn used again for weaving. If a woman needs yarn she tells her husband to buy the strips that others get. He generally pays from twenty-five to fifty cents for a strip.

Before the gifts are distributed the host makes a speech which is shouted to the crowd by the speaker. Then the potlatch songs are sung. These songs are sung between the giving of large gifts.

These wealth songs are called tcītckū'ikuł which means receiving the power of wealth, or sīama'nen which probably means wealth. They belong to a family and are transmitted from father to eldest son. Beside inheriting them a person can acquire new ones through an experience such as the following.

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At Port Discovery there was a man who received a song from the sun. The people had gone up Hood Canal to Brinnon, and while they were drying fish there his mother died. He was only a young man then. He cried and cried for his mother and when he was worn out from crying he climbed up the bank of the river. Half way up the bank he lay down. Then he cried again till he fell asleep. While he was sleeping a man who was shining all over came and stood near him, asking him what his trouble was. He told him. Then the man told him to look in the other direction. He saw a house with many people gathered around. Some rich man was giving a potlatch. The shining one told him to go there and hear what the rich man in the house had to tell him. So in his dream he went to the place and he was asked by one outside the house, "Are you coming to this gathering?" He said that he would like to be like the one who was giving the potlatch. He was told that he would do that seven times during his life. When he woke up a song started in him. He could not keep from singing. When he started singing his sorrow left him and he just sang all the time. The shining one who saw him lying there was the sun.

He gave only four potlatches, not the seven promised him and at the last one he sang that song. He said that he had songs from his forefathers but on this occasion he wanted to use his own song:

nī koxasa' xa'tcita'tci
Are you the person who comes?

xūngan tsa tsxuxas
You will be like the person who is in there
(meaning the person who is giving the potlatch),

qwi a xunatuñ
The one that is doing this.

These songs are always sung in a half crying voice. When the speaker leads the wealth songs he holds a little fan of cedar, decorated around the edge with mountain goat wool, in his right hand, above his shoulder and slightly behind his head. Any relative of the side of the house to which the song belongs can join in the singing provided he is wealthy.

While the men are receiving gifts outdoors, the wife of the host is distributing gifts among the wives of the wealthy men who came as guests. In recent years bolts of calico, shawls, china and beads have been favorite articles. Formerly dried foods, woven blankets, baskets, mats and other articles of woman's handiwork were given away. The hostess is assisted by some female relatives who call out the names of the women while the hostess herself sorts out the gifts they are to receive.

As soon as the distribution of gifts is over the guests immediately load their canoes for departure. Even if it is near mealtime, it is not proper to wait for another meal. As the guests' canoes leave the shore the family who gave the potlatch go down to the beach to sing a farewell song to their property.

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The song entreats this wealth to look back as it is leaving and to come back some day many fold.

It generally takes a man from three to four years to accumulate enough property to give a potlatch. The wealthy men of one village usually arrange such matters among themselves, often joining forces if they cannot give it individually. At Washington Harbor there used to be a potlatch every other year.

Small potlatches are given at any time. If relatives can afford it, they give a potlatch to celebrate the birth of a child, or when the child is named, gifts may be distributed. To such affairs only the people of the village or the immediate neighborhood are invited. A girl's puberty ceremony as given by a wealthy family always included a potlatch. At a marriage the gifts brought by the bridegroom are distributed among the bride's relatives. During the period of mourning the personal belongings of the dead persons which are neither buried with him nor burned are given away, especially to relatives. On the anniversary of the death a potlatch is given by wealthy families. In short at every crisis in the individual's life there is an occasion for a ceremonial giving of gifts. The recipient of such gifts is not bound to return them twofold as at a large potlatch but when a similar occasion arises in his household he is expected to invite those who invited him. These smaller potlatches are usually given only for the people of the village and for close relatives who live elsewhere.

If there are some families in a village who have children eligible for the secret society and can afford to pay for their initiation, the big potlatch of the year is given in the summer time before the village migrates to its fishing grounds along Hood Canal. Usually one of the relatives of these children is preparing to give a potlatch. It is strange to find that the ritual of the secret society is performed at this time here and not during the sacred, quiet time of the year, as it is among most tribes that share this form of ceremonial. It was explained that since so much of the dancing is done on the beach it is better to have it during the summer than in the inclement weather of winter. This sounds like an excellent rationalization for the climate is much the same throughout the area of the secret society. However this may be, whenever there is an initiation it is always planned to take place during the giving of a potlatch.

Those villages which are to sponsor the novices rush directly to the houses of the novices as soon as they land and transport them to the potlatch house where they are placed in confinement. When this is to be done the visitors make a special point of arriving early in the day.

Among the Klallam the potlatch has not been as carefully formulated and systematized as among the Kwakiutl or even the Nootka of Vancouver Island. It is generally expected that there is a two for one return. If a person does not give at least two blankets for one received, the consensus of opinion will be that he is not living up to his social obligations and such criticism will make him lose prestige. A wealthy man may try to ruin a rival by pur-

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posely giving him more than he can return, but this feeling is not as highly developed as it is among the northern tribes. The man who is challenged in this way will call on his relatives to help him accumulate enough to pay back his rival and try to save his social standing.

Eells has an interesting account of the last potlatches held at Skokomish and Jamestown. Practically all the points which are made abstractly above are there illustrated in practice. Moreover, his description of the secret society proceedings are accurate enough to convey exactly what happened although Eells himself has no idea of the significance of the ceremonial he witnessed.[236]

Curtis describes the last great potlatch of the Klallam held at Sequim Bay (Washington Harbor) in 1870, by the chief Hahlkĕ'n, probably Xalkē'nim, mentioned previously in this paper. The following is a brief resume of Curtis' account.

All the Klallam villages were invited to this feast as well as the Twana, the Lummi and their neighbors, and the tribes of the southern part of Vancouver Island. Messengers were sent out to invite these people, each messenger being given a bundle of sticks for each village. The bundle contained as many sticks as there were to be guests from the village. When the guests arrived they were not met by the host but by his servants who escorted them to their lodgings. The final distribution of gifts was conducted by Ku'ltum, of Tsi'skat (tsē'ēsqat) who was then the speaker for the chief. At this potlatch $500 in money, 40 guns, 400 commercial blankets, six large canoes, beads, shells, and commercial and native robes and baskets were distributed.[237]

With these potlatches scattered through the year, the spirit singing with its potlatches during the quiet month in December and January, and the secret society initiation and potlatch in the summer, the Klallam ceremonial calendar is well filled. All these events hardly occur in one village in any given year but because of the constant intermarriage and visiting that takes place the events in any one village would be shared by a large number of neighboring villages.

[236] Eells, (b), 135-147.
[237] Curtis, IX, 69-71.

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AA	American Anthropologist
A ANT	American Antiquarian
BAAS	Report, British Association for the Advancement of Science
BBAE	Bulletin, Bureau of American Ethnology
BAMNH	Bulletin, American Museum of Natural History
Mem AMNH	Memoirs, American Museum of Natural History
PaAMNH	Anthropological Papers, American Museum of Natural History
RBAE	Annual Report, Bureau of American Ethnology
R Smithsonian	Annual Report, Smithsonian Institution

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